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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

A HISTORY

OF THE

Organization, Development and Services of the
Military and Naval Forces of Canada
From the Peace of Paris in 1763,
to the Present Time.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE
GENERAL STAFF.

VOLUME I.

The Local Forces of New France.

The Militia of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1775.

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ERRATA.

Page 28.—Twentieth line for "Moncalm," read "Montcalm."

Page 69.—Thirty-second line for "29e Mars," read "20e Mars."

Page 87.—Twenty-eighth line for "Mr. Isamberg," read "Mr. Mt. Isamberg."

Page 91.—Sixth line for "Rigogvile," read "Rigovile."

Page 97.—Fortieth line for "tnvoyay," read "envoyay."

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CHAPTER I.

THE LOCAL FORCES OF NEW FRANCE.

The early colonists of New France arrived as an armed and organized body under a recognized leader who exercised nearly despotic authority. Their first foothold in the country was at once fortified and prepared for defence. For twenty years or more the actual settlement was restricted to the limits of the trading post at Quebec, and the colonists were explorers, soldiers, traders, hunters and fishermen, but not cultivators of the soil. Apart from the provisions which they still largely imported from France, they subsisted mainly on the spoils of forest and stream, rather than the products of farm and garden. As to the condition of the settlement in 1627, the year of the death of Louis Hébert, the first colonist who seriously attempted to live by agriculture, Champlain wrote "We were in all sixty-five souls, including men, women, and children." Of this number only eighteen were adult males, fit to bear arms and to perform hard labour, and not more than two or three families had devoted themselves to tilling the soil. Besides these, however, there were a few adventurous trappers, traders, or outlaws living in the Indian villages and seeking to enrich themselves.

The formation of the Company of one hundred Associates, soon afterwards, resulted in a resolute effort to promote settlement and agriculture. The Seigniorial system of Tenure was introduced. Giffard, the first Seignior of Beauport brought in seven large families to be his tenants. Two years later two other very numerous families arrived who were closely allied by marriage, and consisted in all of not less than fifty-four persons. These families, Le Gardeur de Repentigny et de Tilly and Le Neuf de La Poterie et du Herisson, were destined to play a very important and creditable part in the later history of the Colony. Horned cattle and sheep were also imported and the new Governor, de Montmagny, brought in the first riding horse for his own personal service. In the absence of draft animals the progress of agriculture was necessarily slow.

The rich natural meadows near the margin of the river offered suitable pasturage and several families were immediately established in their vicinity. In 1636, de Montmagny rebuilt the post at Quebec and enrolled all male colonists as a militia who took turns in performing military exercises and furnishing guards. Father Paul le Jeune has written a florid description of their practice with artillery and small arms, waking the echos of the surrounding woods and cliffs, and relates that the fortress of Quebec was as vigilantly guarded in time of peace, as a military post of importance would be in the heat of war.

An advanced trading post was established at Three Rivers which soon attracted a number of settlers to take advantage of the excellent hunting and fishing around Lake Saint Pierre, and share in the profits of the fur trade. Pierre Boucher, afterwards the first Seignior of Boucherville organized, trained, and commanded the militia of this settlement as their Captain for many years and was eventually appointed Governor of the District. Another stockade was soon afterwards built on the island of Montreal and also attracted several families. These frontier stations were naturally the posts of the greatest danger and the colonists were continually kept on the alert by the inroads of hostile Indians. They still mainly lived on flesh, fish and fowl, and were forced to become expert, not only in the use of fire arms, but proficient in repairing their weapons, casting bullets and even making gun-powder. Isolated dwellings

were usually constructed of stout hewn logs after the fashion of a block-house, having thick doors and narrow windows, intended more for use as loopholes than to admit the light, and a projecting upper story provided with apertures for pouring boiling water or melted lead upon assailants who might approach to force an entrance or set the building on fire.

The origin of four hundred and six families who became colonists between the years of 1615 and 1666 has been carefully traced and it is ascertained that all came from northern France, nearly one half from the Provinces of Normandy and Perche. They were hardy, patient and industrious people, and also brave and resolute, determined at all hazards to defend their new possessions against all comers.

The first collision with the Iroquois took place within a year after the founding of Quebec and thence forward, hostilities constantly recurred at uncertain intervals, with little warning. The great river and its tributaries furnished an easy highway for the approach, and the surrounding forest, a secure lurking place for the war-parties of these fierce and merciless enemies. Unwary colonists were surprised and killed or carried into captivity, their cattle were destroyed, their fields laid waste, and out-buildings burnt by the raiders.

While the colonists thus remained at the mercy of the Iroquois, prosperity was impossible. Recognizing this fact in the spring of 1642, after establishing a post on the island of Montreal, de Montmagny decided to build another small fort at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, so called from being the usual route of their invasions, and gave it the name of the great Cardinal, which has since been transferred to the river itself. For the construction of this fort a hundred men were drafted from the colonists who proved their courage and skill by repelling an attack from a band of Indians while the work was still under construction. The effective strength of the militia at this time must have been small for, as late as 1649, the total number of settlers scarcely exceeded a thousand persons of both sexes.

The new fort, however, failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was designed. Between 1649, and 1663, the inhabitants of all the settlements were frequently obliged to seize their arms for self-defence. A detachment of forty volunteers was organized as a "*camp volant*" under the command of De Mousseau, a nephew of d'Ailleboust who had been appointed governor, to patrol the shore of the river between Three Rivers and Montreal, and was apparently retained in service for three years. A small tax was imposed on all fur traders for the support of this force. In seed time and harvest, the tillers of the soil were obliged to have their weapons constantly within reach, and even a religious brotherhood formed themselves into a military company to the number of sixty-three men under the title of the "*Fraternite de la Tres Sainte-Vierge*." In the summer of 1651, the Island of Montreal was frequently invaded and ravaged. "Scarcely a day passed without an alarm," says the author of a contemporary history of the settlement. "We had them incessantly upon us. There was not a month during this summer in which our book of the dead had not an inscription placed upon it in red letters by the hands of the Iroquois. On their side they did not suffer less; they lost indeed more men than we, but as their numbers were incomparably greater than ours, our losses seemed heavier than theirs, as they always had men to replace those who had fallen."

The attacks of the Indians increased to such a degree that all the inhabitants of the settlements were obliged to abandon their dwellings and seek shelter in the forts. "Every day," says the chronicler, "we see the enemy around us; at night we dare not open our doors and, in the day-time, no one ventures to leave his house for half a dozen paces without taking with him his firelock, sword, and pistol." M. d'Ailleboust, "gentilhomme de Champagne" and a retired military officer, had organized all the men fit to bear arms at Quebec and Three Rivers into small squads of militia.

The garrison of Fort Richelieu had to be withdrawn, and the deserted buildings were burnt by the Indians. The defences of Three Rivers and Montreal were however greatly strengthened; at the latter place by the construction of stone bastions connected by stout palisades, under the supervision of d'Ailleboust, whose military knowledge was of great service to the distressed settlement. The governor of Three Rivers, Duplessis-Bochart, rashly sallied forth at the head of his militia to attack a party of marauding Iroquois who were plundering the neighbouring settlement, but he was defeated and killed with fourteen of his followers. The loss of even such a small party of fighting men was considered a serious blow and a few regular troops which the new governor of the colony, de Lauzon, had brought with him from France were hurried forward from Quebec for the protection of the frontier. The Indians did not

venture to attack the fortifications of either place, but constantly lurked in their vicinity, wasting the deserted farms and attacking any party that ventured out. Chomedey de Maisonneuve, the founder and commandant of Montreal for more than twenty years, issued a proclamation in 1657, declaring the town, (*Ville-Marie*), under the special protection of the Holy Virgin, and calling upon all citizens to enroll themselves for its defence in squads of seven men, each of which was directed to elect from among its number a corporal as its leader. Twenty squads were formed inside of four days and the entire force received the title of "*Soldats de la Sainte Famille de Jesus, Marie et Joseph*." This volunteer force furnished a permanent guard for the fortifications and small parties of men, who went out to work in the adjacent farms. It was maintained for three years, during which it lost only eight men, of whom five were killed and three taken prisoners.

About the same time the militia of each district adopted a distinctive uniform. The militiamen of Montreal wore a long blue coat with a cap and sash of the same color, those of Three Rivers wore white caps and sashes, and those of Quebec, red. This distinctive dress was retained among the *habitants* until recent years.

Whenever the approach of a suspicious party was discovered, the church bells at once rang the tocsin as a warning for the workers in the fields to seek the shelter of the fort, and the volunteers on duty to hurry out to their protection. The priests of the Seminary never failed to hasten forth to the battle-field to confess the dying and administer the sacrament and often exposed their lives in the service of their comrades without taking arms for their defence.

The fort at Three Rivers was closely blockaded for several weeks but eventually relieved by a party of volunteers from Quebec, who made their way into it under cover of darkness. The Iroquois also devastated l'île aux Oyes, only thirty-six miles above Quebec, and killed several of the inhabitants, returning thence to Montreal and again ruining that settlement. Fortunately fish and water fowl were plentiful and easily obtained, but the garrisons were forced to bring wheat and flour from Quebec for their support.

After a brief season of peace arranged through the efforts of Charles LeMoynes, the Indians renewed the war in the autumn of 1657, by another invasion. A still more formidable inroad, planned by them in May 1660, was baffled by the heroism of Daulac or Dollard who assembled a party of sixteen volunteers and took post in a feeble stockade at the foot of the Long Sault on the Ottawa River, overlooked by a neighbouring hill at a little distance. Here he was attacked by eight hundred Iroquois who were several times repulsed with severe losses. The Indians were afterwards reinforced and the assault was renewed, lasting with little intermission for three days, at the end of which Daulac endeavoured to blow up the place by loading a musket with powder to the muzzle and exploding it as a mine. This desperate expedient failed and the assailants stormed the fort, all of the garrison being killed with the exception of one man, who was afterwards tortured to death. "The enemy were dismayed by this resistance and withdrew"; says a contemporary writer, "otherwise all would have been lost."

Year by year, the Indians renewed their raids, devastating the country, killing settlers and carrying off prisoners. The situation of the colony had become so critical that it was evident that it must either be abandoned or a strong reinforcement despatched from France for its protection. In 1663, the Company of the One Hundred Associates virtually collapsed and their privileges reverted to the crown. A new governor was appointed and it was decided to send out a considerable body of regular troops. During the winter of 1663-4, the Iroquois again appeared under the walls of Quebec and menaced the fort with an attack. In the course of this raid the entire population of the settlement of Montreal was kept under arms for many days.

The new governor, de Mesy, received instructions for the appointment of a sovereign council of seven members and the establishment of subordinate governments for the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal. An embassy from the Indians arrived with proposals for peace but he bluntly informed them that, as they had so often deceived his predecessors, he could put no confidence in their professions and unwisely added that it had been decided to carry the war into the heart of their own country. A new trading company was soon organized under the name of the "*Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*" and granted a monopoly of commerce in the French dominions in America from the Amazon River northward, including also the French West Indies, and the Island of Newfoundland. Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, who had already seen much service in other French colonies was appointed viceroy for America but directed in the first place to visit Cayenne, and the French West Indian Islands on

his way to Canada. He was one of the senior Lieutenant-Generals in the French army, and already well advanced in years. He was granted very full powers, and four companies of the regiment Carignan-Salières, who had the privilege of carrying the same colours as the royal guard, accompanied him as an escort. Twenty other companies of the same corps were ordered to proceed direct to Canada from French ports. As each company nominally consisted of sixty-five of all ranks, this force probably numbered twelve or thirteen hundred men. It had been originally recruited in Savoy by the Prince de Carignan, an ancestor of the present royal house of Italy. Passing afterwards into the French service, it fought gallantly in the wars of the Fronde, participating in the famous battle of the Porte Saint-Antoine. Only a year before its embarkation it had been engaged against the Turks on the frontiers of Hungary, particularly at the bloody battle of Saint Gothard, when to use the striking expression of the French general, de Coligny, "the river became a great floating cemetery." At the close of this campaign it was reorganized and its effective strength considerably increased by the formation of several German companies and the whole corps despatched to Canada under the command of Colonel H. Chapelas, sieur de Salières, from whom it received the second part of its name.

In the fleet of vessels conveying the main body of this regiment came de Courcelles, nominated as governor of the colony to succeed de Mesy, and Talon to act as intendant, or controller of the finances, together with many families of colonists, in all numbering five or six hundred persons. They brought with them also cattle, sheep and twelve stallions and brood-mares presented by the king for breeding purposes. The number of persons who came from France this year was almost equal to the entire French population of Canada.

The new governor was an officer of energy, merit and experience. The Marquis de Tracy, who had arrived some months before, had already planned an offensive movement against the Iroquois but the delay in the arrival of the troops induced him to postpone the expedition until the following year. The four companies which had first arrived were sent forward with instructions to establish a chain of advanced posts on the river Richelieu. They left Quebec on the 23rd July, accompanied by a body of volunteer militia under the command of M. de Repentigny and arrived at Three Rivers just in time to deliver the inhabitants from their fear of the Iroquois who had renewed their customary attacks. These troops were soon afterwards followed by other companies and they began the ascent of the Richelieu in boats already prepared for the expedition. The first fort, built at the mouth of the river near the site of the former Fort Richelieu, was named in honour of Captain de Saurel or Sorel, who supervised its construction; the second named Fort Saint-Louis, was established by Captain de Chambly at the foot of the rapids which afterwards received his name; the third, ten miles farther up, was built under the direction of Colonel de Salières himself, and named Sainte-Thérèse. These works were not completed until late in October, when a party was sent forward to Lake Champlain to choose a site for the fourth fort, for which an island in the lake was selected, afterwards called Isle Lamotte in honour of Captain La Mothe Lussière, who built upon it a stockade which he named Fort Sainte-Anne.

Meanwhile Charles Le Moyne, the most active leader of the colonists on the frontier, had been taken prisoner by the Indians, who, finding their own country seriously menaced with invasion, determined to release him and ask for peace. These negotiations failed and de Courcelles, having little knowledge of the severity of winter weather in Canada, hastily determined to undertake a campaign soon after his arrival. He marched from Sillery with about one hundred volunteers from the local militia on the 10th January, 1666. At Three Rivers he was joined by eighty more from that settlement and at Montreal by another party of seventy under the command of Charles Le Moyne. Nearly all of these were experienced frontiersmen, accustomed to make long journeys on snow-shoes, and well trained in the warfare of the woods by frequent encounters with the Indians. Consequently, de Courcelles gave them the post of honour, placing them in the advanced guard, when advancing, and in the rear guard while retiring, evincing great reliance upon these auxiliaries whom he familiarly called "his blue caps." Detachments from the garrisons of regular soldiers at Three Rivers, Montreal and the forts along the Richelieu, swelled the strength of the column to five or six hundred men, with whom he marched from Fort Sainte-Thérèse on the 30th January. After advancing to the vicinity of Albany, he learned to his great surprise that the province of New Holland had fallen into the hands of the English, and as the snow was deep and the weather unfavourable, he decided to abandon his expedition, and returned to Montreal early in March.

The boldness of the enterprise appears to have struck terror into the Indians and they once more sent an embassy to Quebec to sue for peace. A treaty had actually been concluded and signed when it was learned that a party of young Mohawk warriors had killed two French officers and made prisoners of four others while hunting on the shores of Lake Champlain, near Isle La Motte. De Tracy then became convinced that to secure a lasting peace, he must undertake another punitive expedition against the offenders. In spite of his advanced age, he decided to command it himself. It was composed of six hundred soldiers, selected from all the companies of the regiment de Carignan, six hundred militia and one hundred "domiciled" Indians. All the preparations were made under the superintendence of Talon, the energetic and efficient intendant, and the column was finally assembled at Fort Saint-Anne late in September. Three hundred boats and canoes had been collected to convey this force to the farther end of Lake George where the real difficulties of the expedition began, for it then became necessary for the men to carry on their backs the whole of their provisions and baggage. Two small pieces of cannon were likewise dragged along with much labour. On their approach the Mohawks abandoned their villages which were immediately burned and their fields of corn laid waste. The large detachment of Canadian militia showed such remarkable endurance, hardihood and resourcefulness that the regulars hailed them as worthy comrades. Although the campaign was bloodless, it was thoroughly effective in demonstrating the strength of the colony and its ability to assume the offensive when necessary. Before winter set in, a treaty of peace formally concluded with the Six Nations ensured the security of the colony for nearly twenty years.

When nearly two years had elapsed without any sign of hostility on the part of the Indians, orders were received for the return of the greater part of the regular troops to France. The population and resources of the colony had considerably increased. Agriculture and trade were prospering, encouraged by the fostering aid of the capable intendant. A census taken in 1666 gave the total white population as 3,418 of whom more than two-thirds resided in Quebec and the adjacent parishes. The district of Montreal contained only 584 persons and that of Three Rivers, 461. The little island of Orleans actually contained ten more people than the whole of the latter district. In the following year, Talon reported the population of all New France as amounting to 4,312, of whom 1,566 were men fit for military service. There were 11,174 acres of land under cultivation and the colonists possessed 2,136 horned cattle. Horses of course, were still rare.

It was decided that four companies of the Regiment de Carignan would remain in the colony as a garrison. Two of these were stationed at Montreal and two others at Fort St. Louis on the Richelieu, from which thirty men were detached as a garrison for Fort Ste. Anne, the most advanced post, and twenty to Fort St. John. They were inspected and exercised annually by the Governor-General and one hundred pistoles were distributed in prizes to encourage marksmanship. These little detachments spent much of their time, when not on duty, in hunting, cultivating their gardens, and assisting in farm work. Already six captains and ten subalterns of the regiment had decided, voluntarily, to remain in the country and become colonists. With the approval of de Tracy, Talon submitted an elaborate proposal to induce as many as possible of the officers and men to become settlers. He emphasized the many advantages that would naturally be derived from the settlement of so many trained soldiers, laid much stress upon the encouragement of a proper military spirit among the colonists, and instanced with great force the Roman system of military colonisation as a precedent. When judiciously established on the land, he urged, that these discharged soldiers would be as much at the service of the king and colony as if they were maintained under pay in a garrison, while at the same time, the treasury would be relieved of a considerable burden. They would become attached to the colony as their home and heritage and have a more vital interest in its defence than a garrison of mercenaries. Lands should be granted to them on very favourable terms and liability to serve in time of war become the ground of exemption from customary rates and fees. The title deeds should expressly state the military nature of the tenure and the obligation imposed upon all recipients of these grants of sending their eldest sons to serve the king in garrison for a certain period without pay upon attaining the age of sixteen years.

These proposals were entirely approved by the king and minister and instructions were given as to the manner of carrying them into effect. Seigniories varying in size according to rank and length of service were offered to the officers of the regiment and as the district of Montreal was the most exposed to attacks of the Indians, ex-

tensive tracts of land along the Richelieu and upper St. Lawrence were distributed among these officers who were directed to sublet a portion of their lands to their former non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Between twenty-five and thirty officers, chiefly captains and lieutenants, and more than four hundred of other ranks decided to take advantage of this opportunity to become permanent settlers. Many of them founded families of note and their descendants are numerous in Canada and in the United States. Several of the officers were nobles and nearly all gentlemen by birth. The names of most of these officers such as Berthier, Baby, Chambly, Contrecoeur, la Valterie, St. Ours, Sorel, Soulanges, Varennes and Vercheres, have been perpetuated in various localities. Many of them took wives from among the daughters of the earlier settlers and soon established their supremacy as leaders of the people.

Apparently few of them possessed the necessary capital to develop their grants, and upwards of twenty thousand livres were provided from the royal treasury to be divided among them at the discretion of the Intendant. Each non-commissioned officer received one hundred and fifty livres, or one hundred livres and a year's rations, and each soldier one hundred livres, or fifty livres and a year's rations, at his own option. The oath required from the seigniors was very solemn and binding. They pledged themselves to discharge all duties required by their sovereign and to appear in arms whenever the province was attacked and this obligation of military services was extended through them to their tenants. The efficiency of the militia was naturally much improved by the settlement of these veteran soldiers in its midst. The officers became in a manner feudal chiefs, and the whole settlement, a military colony, admirably suited for defence. The seigniories formed a long narrow fringe of cultivation along the banks of the rivers, and for many years, it has been remarked, that nearly every house in Canada could be seen by a voyager in paddling up the St. Lawrence and Richelieu. Four noble families were already settled in New France and on the recommendation of de Tracy, the king ennobled Messrs. Bourdon, Boucher, d'Auteuil and Juchereau as a reward for notable service, and on a later recommendation from Talon, Messrs Godefroy, Charles le Moyne, Denys, Amiot, and Couillard. These gentlemen received large grants of land and the seigniorial system was thus further strengthened. That portion of the regiment which returned to France, became the nucleus of the Regiment de Lorraine, which continued its existence until the general re-organization of the French army in 1794.

De Tracy returned to France in 1667, having completed his mission to the satisfaction of the government; Talon followed him next year, and remained until 1670, when he came back to Canada bringing with him five hundred settlers. Smaller parties had arrived nearly every year. On the 25th March, 1669, Captains Chambly, la Durantaye, de Grandfontaine and Berthier, of the Regiment de Carignan entered into an engagement with the government to maintain their companies at a strength of fifty men each, between the ages of twenty and thirty, and to furnish them with provisions until their embarkation on receipt of the sum of one thousand écus. In the course of the following year, thirty gentlemen, all former officers, and six companies of this regiment numbering about three hundred and fifty men returned as a garrison, destined eventually to swell the number of colonists. Still the number of troops stationed in Canada was so small that the minister of war declined responsibility for them and they were transferred to the department of marine and colonies and henceforth became known as "Troupes de la Marine" or "Troupes de la Colonie." They supplied garrisons for Quebec and the frontier forts and were commanded by an officer of the rank of captain. They were encouraged to marry in the colony and married men were usually granted their discharge on engaging to settle on the land and other men recruited in France to take their place. As a demonstration to overawe the Iroquois, de Courcelles ascended the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario as far as the Bay of Quinte, piloted by Charles le Moyne, with an escort of fifty-six chosen men and at this time he seems to have contemplated building a fort somewhere on the shore of the lake which project was, however, postponed for some years. Two years later both he and Talon left the colony forever, amid general regret, and De Courcelles was succeeded by the Count de Frontenac as governor, but the post of intendant remained vacant for three years, when M. Duchesneau was appointed. In a letter dated the 2nd November, 1762, very soon after his arrival at Quebec, Frontenac asked for a body of regular troops, but he was told that the war with Holland made it impossible to comply with his request and advised to organize and exercise the inhabitants. He took immediate measures to do this by enrolling them in companies and appointing officers.

The forts on the Richelieu were connected by a military road, and the new governor, shortly after his arrival, built a fort for observing the movements of the Indians on the

shores of Lake Ontario. His expedition for this purpose consisting of four hundred men, partly regulars, but mainly militia, ascended the St. Lawrence in a flotilla of four flat boats and one hundred and twenty canoes. The fort was built, surrounded with palisades, and armed with six guns inside of a week, and twenty acres of land were cleared for cultivation. A small ship was built there for the navigation of the lake. In the course of the same year, 1673, a royal ordinance was published prohibiting all French subjects from remaining in the woods more than twenty-four hours without the express permission of the governor under the pain of death. This regulation was deemed necessary to prevent young men from deserting their farms for the more attractive and lucrative fur trade. The militia was re-organized and captains were appointed who were also made responsible for the maintenance of roads and bridges, the service of legal writs, and the conveyance of letters and despatches. A census was taken with disappointing results. In 1674, the minister wrote to Frontenac from the camp before Besancon saying that the king was surprised to learn that there were only 6,705 French people in the colony and it would seem that previous returns had been greatly exaggerated.

In 1674, Frontenac reported that he had instructed the seigniors to assemble and drill their tenants in military exercises as often as possible. A second census, taken in 1675, showed some improvement, yet the minister again wrote to the new Intendant that the king could not believe that there was only 7,832 inhabitants in Canada with 1,120 muskets, 5,117 horned cattle and 21,237 acres under cultivation. Another census would be awaited with anxiety. It does not appear that this was taken until 1681, when the population was reported to have increased to 9,710, having 1,810 firelocks, or approximately one for each family, 6,936 horned cattle, seventy-eight horses, and 22,427 acres under cultivation.

Meanwhile, the enterprising explorer, La Salle, had obtained a grant from the crown of the fort and seignory at Cataragui, where he undertook to maintain a garrison equal to that of Montreal. Trading posts were established by him at Niagara, and on the River Illinois, to which he gave the significant name of Fort Crèvecoeur, in memory of the many mishaps he had encountered in the course of his undertaking. The governor and intendant had quarrelled fiercely and eventually both were recalled and then de Labarre was appointed governor, with M. des Meules as intendant. The new governor had served with distinction for many years in the French West Indies but was well advanced in age and in poor health. His instructions directed him to proceed as far as Niagara with a body of five or six hundred militia, to convince the Indians that they must remain at peace, and that he was prepared to attack them in the event of hostility but he was advised not to break with them without urgent necessity and being morally certain that he could end the war in a short time with success.

A division of the settlements into parishes was made in 1683. In many cases the limits of the parish and the seignory were the same but when the seignory was very large and populous it was divided into more than one parish, and sometimes two or more small seignories were grouped in the same parish. Eighty-two parishes were thus organized but for many years the church was unable to maintain so many priests and frequently more than one parish was served by the same priest. Captains of the militia were appointed in each parish with subalterns and sergeants. In general the seignory became the civil limit of the parish and the seignior and the curé were naturally the most influential residents but next in importance and dignity to them came the captain of the militia, whose house was marked by a tall flag-staff planted in front of it as an alarm post, and for whom a special seat was reserved in church.

A council composed of the chief ecclesiastics, the governor of Three Rivers and several leading men of the Colony was assembled at Quebec to advise the governor and intendant. It reported that for four years the English had endeavoured to induce the Iroquois to declare war against the French and the Indians had declined to do so until they had overcome the other Indian nations in alliance with the French. The preceding year they had attacked and inflicted severe losses upon the Illinois and other western nations and become masters of all the country about Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan. It would be necessary to intervene at once to prevent the entire destruction of these tribes. The colony could provide one thousand men well trained in Indian warfare but in their absence their lands would remain uncultivated. It would accordingly be necessary to replace them in some way and establish depots of provisions along the line of advance for the attack of the Senecas, who were the largest and most warlike nation of the Iroquois. Assistance from France would be necessary and two or three hundred soldiers would be required as garrisons for the forts on the frontier,

and for preventing any invasion of the colony when deprived of its militia. One hundred and fifty men would be needed to assist those remaining on the farms during seed time and harvest to avert danger of famine. Two or three vessels would also be required for the transport of provisions. In any event it would be necessary to organize the militia and, as the harvest had been abundant, every militiaman ought to provide himself with fire-arms at his own expense and keep them in a serviceable condition for use whenever he was called out. A copy of this report was sent to France to support an urgent request for reinforcements to undertake this expedition. A joint ordinance signed by the governor and intendant was published requiring all settlers to supply themselves with **fire-arms at their own expense**. Aubert de la Chesnaye, a merchant at Quebec, and le Bon, a merchant at Montreal, were instructed to sell these weapons to them and accept payment in farm produce at the rate of fifty sols per bushel for wheat and the current prices for Indian corn, peas and salt pork.

Three companies of the "troupes de la Marine" each consisting of fifty-two men, were despatched from France but did not arrive at Quebec until the 9th November, 1684, when it was too late to undertake a campaign. The Iroquois had grown bolder. They had plundered French traders in the Illinois and attempted to surprise one of the western posts. Instructions were sent at once to the commandant of a trading post at Mackinac to collect as many Canadians and friendly Indians as could be assembled there, and bring them to Niagara to co-operate. Soldiers were sent on early in the spring to fortify Catarqui and a new post at La Galette, near the site of the present city of Ogdensburg. The militia of the colony assembled at Montreal and including the troops that had recently arrived, the governor found himself in command of one thousand two hundred men of whom three hundred and fifty were Indians. On Lake St. Francis, he met a deputation from the Onondagas who announced that they were prepared to make reparation for the wrongs done the French by the Senecas. The expedition advanced until it reached a bay on the south shore of Lake Ontario, which afterwards received the doleful name of "Famine" from the sufferings of the men for want of provisions. Charles le Moyne was sent on to Onondaga to confer with the Indians and bring back their delegates. Here La Barre remained in camp for a month, but sickness increased so rapidly that a treaty of peace was hastily concluded with the Indians which was considered to reflect much discredit on the governor. The troops re-embarked on the 6th September, having suffered so much from disease that there were scarcely a sufficient number of men in health to embark the sick. The ill-success of this campaign eventually caused the recall of the governor who was replaced by the Marquis de Denonville.

By great efforts, de la Durantaye and Dulhut had assembled two hundred Canadians and five hundred western warriors at Mackinac, but when they arrived at Niagara with this force they learned to their disgust that a shameful peace had been concluded and returned to their villages in a state of great discontent.

Three hundred regulars arrived from France in the autumn under the command of de Callières, who was appointed governor at Montreal, too late to take any part in the campaign. In a transport which accompanied Denonville, five hundred recruits had been embarked, but it is stated that one hundred and fifty of these unfortunate men perished during the passage owing to the overcrowding of the ship. The intendant had reported that the sons of many Canadian gentlemen, in spite of their marked aptitude for a military life had neither the opportunity nor the means of entering the regular army and, at his request, the king directed that two of these young men should be appointed annually to commissions in the "Troupes de la Marine."

The instructions of the new governor directed him to establish peace on a proper basis by supporting the Indian tribes in alliance with the French and subduing the Iroquois and convincing them that they must accept such conditions of peace as were imposed by the French. Accordingly he was authorized to act offensively against the Senecas and other Iroquois nations if he considered it necessary for the protection of the western tribes.

A visit to Fort Frontenac satisfied the governor that war with the Indians was inevitable, and on his return to Quebec, his confidence was greatly increased by the arrival of a squadron of ships bringing 800 additional recruits under the command of Chevalier de Vaudreuil, as commandant of all the regular forces in the colony. It was intended that the greater part of these men should remain as garrisons in the colony, to assist in the cultivation of the land, thus enabling the militia to take part in the expedition. The town of Montreal was enclosed with palisades to secure it

against an attack. Two hundred row-boats and as many canoes were prepared for the expedition. On the 11th June, 1687, Denonville left Montreal for Cataragui, accompanied by eight hundred and thirty regular soldiers, nearly one thousand militia and three hundred Indians residing in the colony. On arriving at Fort Frontenac, he learned with satisfaction that de la Durantaye was on his way down Lake Erie with one hundred and sixty Canadians and four hundred western Indians. The flotilla again got under way and crossed the lake to Irondequoit Bay, near the mouth of the Genesee river, where the troops were landed. An enclosure of palisades was made here to protect the boats and provisions and a garrison of four hundred and forty men left in charge. Three companies of Canadian *coureurs de bois* under the command of de la Durantaye, Dulhut and de Tonti formed the advanced guard and they were supported on the right flank by three hundred Christian Indians commanded by Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, and on the left by an equal number of the western nations. The regular troops and colonial militia followed in succession. An attack by the Senecas while on the march was easily repelled with very little loss. Their principal town was taken and destroyed. Ten days were spent in destroying three other villages and their standing crops. As sickness began to weaken his force, Denonville hastened his return to the landing place. He then ascended the lake to the mouth of the river Niagara, where he built a fort, thus completing the chain of posts connecting Canada with the country of the Illinois. A garrison of one hundred men was left there in command of Captain de Troyes, who had just returned from a successful expedition to Hudson's Bay. Charlevoix remarks that "during this campaign the Canadians fought with their customary bravery, but the soldiers did themselves little credit."

On his return to Montreal, Denonville prepared a report in which he warmly praised the militia for their services and stated that the detachment from Quebec, which had just returned to their homes, had travelled a distance of 1380 miles between the 24th of May and the 18th of August, to take part in the campaign, and that during this time, they had invaded the country of the Senecas and borne their full share in the construction of two forts. Commenting afterwards upon the future organization of the colonial troops, he added: "Messrs de la Durantaye, Granville, Dupuis, Berthier, La Vallière, and Longueuil, who have done good service, will make excellent captains. I cannot tell you how greatly Granville and Longueuil, to each of whom I had given the command of four companies, have distinguished themselves beyond others. You have already given the latter a lieutenant's commission which he has accepted gladly: he is the eldest of seven brothers of the family of Le Moyne, whom the King has ennobled for the services their deceased father rendered in this country. I cannot praise too highly this family and that of Le Ber, a brother-in-law of the said Le Moyne, who deserve the greatest credit for the good conduct and good education of their children who are all fine men. Three of the brothers took part in every thing was so well done in the expedition to the northward under M. de Troyes."

The destruction of their villages and crops was a severe blow to the Senecas. Many of them perished from starvation during the following winter and others dispersed in search of food. In this way, that nation which had consisted of nearly ten thousand persons is believed to have been reduced to less than half that number.

The expedition against the English trading posts on Hudson's Bay already mentioned had been attended with notable success. Seventy Canadian volunteers, accustomed to long marches, skillful in the management of canoes and boats, and seasoned to winter weather and all kinds of hardships, were selected for the enterprise, and three sons of Charles le Moyne, (d'Iberville, de Sainte-Helene, and de Maricourt) were appointed to command them. They were accompanied by thirty soldiers under M. de Troyes and two other French officers. The rivers were frozen and the country deep with snow when this little party started from Montreal to ascend the Ottawa river to the height of land and thence make its perilous way through the wilderness to James Bay. The distance to the nearest English post was more than six hundred miles. The first part of the journey was necessarily made on snowshoes, and the baggage drawn upon toboggans. Lakes Temiscaming and Abittibi were crossed in canoes built with their own hands and they finally arrived on the shores of James Bay on the 20th day of June. "None but Canadians," proudly remarks the historian, de la Potherie, "could endure the hardships of so long a journey." The first English fort, or trading house, was easily taken by surprise and M. de Troyes proceeded to attack Fort Rupert, one hundred and twenty miles distant and Fort Albany, ninety miles further away, with equal success, as his approach was entirely unexpected.

Retaliation by the Indians was not long delayed. One band captured several persons under the walls of Fort Frontenac and threatened that place with attack. The settlements along the Richelieu were devastated and Fort Chambly blockaded for several days. So distressing were these ravages that about twenty small forts were built in the most exposed settlements in the district of Montreal as places of refuge for the settlers and their cattle. A volunteer corps of one hundred and twenty forest rangers was quartered at the head of the island of Montreal. Denonville considered the situation so serious that he demanded a further reinforcement from France of eight hundred soldiers and one hundred and fifty agricultural labourers. The practice of carrying loaded firearms every where became general and a decree of the superior council passed on 26th February, 1687, imposed certain precautionary regulations in consequence of a fatal accident at a public gathering at Three Rivers.

In July, 1688, the colony was again invaded by a numerous band of Indians who burnt the settlements of Saint-Francois du Lac and Rivière du Loup, then recrossing the Saint Lawrence continued their work of destruction at Sorel, Contrecoeur, Saint Ours, and Boucherville, killing cattle and burning buildings as they passed. Nearly all the militiamen of these settlements, numbering one thousand or eleven hundred, were then absent on service having been called away to escort a large convoy of supplies from Montreal to Cataragui. The greater part of the militia were incessantly kept on duty by these destructive raids. The minister rather curtly replied to Denonville's request that the King's money and soldiers were urgently required elsewhere and that he must make every effort to conclude peace with the Iroquois, and conduct the affairs of the colony peacefully until better times. Only three hundred soldiers could be spared, of whom one hundred and fifty were to be incorporated in the existing companies of colonial troops, and the remainder formed into three new companies under Canadian officers. Among the young Canadians who received commissions were seven sons of Charles le Moyne, and one or more representatives of nearly every noble family in the province. When the last ships sailed for Europe that year the affairs of the colony were in a bad way. An epidemic had first appeared in the garrisons of Niagara and Frontenac, and spread with great rapidity through the remainder of the country. The number of deaths was estimated at fourteen hundred out of a total population of twelve thousand. The cultivation of the land had been much neglected, owing to sickness and the frequent raids of the enemy. In October, Fort Niagara was abandoned and it was feared that the invasion would be renewed during the winter on a greater scale. The governor's account of these calamities struck a note of despair.

He compared the Iroquois to a great band of wolves who could only be tracked to their lairs in the forest with blood hounds or by other Indians who could not be depended upon. If the inhabitants remained shut up in the forts they must perish with starvation, and if they attempted to till their farms they were so surrounded by woods that every field would require a special guard. To carry on the war with success against the Indians, he declared that he would need four thousand troops from France, provided with provisions for two years in advance, together with four or five hundred flat boats and all other necessary supplies for such a campaign. As he suspected that the Iroquois were supplied from New York with the means of carrying on the war he despatched M. de Callières to Paris to advocate an attack upon that province, although there had been as yet no declaration of war against England. On his arrival de Callières offered to lead a force of thirteen hundred soldiers and three hundred Canadians against New York, which he considered would be sufficient to effect its conquest. This plan was apparently approved by the king and minister. Early in May, 1689, war was declared by England. In this declaration the French were accused of having invaded New York and taken possession of the English posts on Hudson Bay and of encroaching upon the fisheries of Newfoundland. It seemed all but certain that a serious invasion of Canada from the English colonies would soon follow.

Early in August, 1690, in the midst of a terrific storm of rain and hail, a large body of Iroquois estimated, probably with some exaggeration, at fourteen hundred warriors crossed Lake Saint-Louis and landed unexpectedly on the upper end of the island of Montreal. The settlements were laid waste and the inhabitants killed or made prisoners, their buildings were burnt and nearly all their cattle killed. A party of forty soldiers and the same number of friendly Indians was attacked on the march and killed or taken to a man. The Iroquois remained in undisputed possession of

the island for many days and the only success over them was gained by twenty-eight Canadian *coureurs de bois* led by Dulhut and le Gardeur de Mantet who defeated a small party of Senecas on the lake of Two Mountains.

While the consternation caused by this invasion was still at its height, the Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec to take over the government of the colony for a second time and Denonville was recalled to a military command in France. Frontenac was accompanied by several Iroquois chiefs who had been detained as prisoners for several years. They were at once released and sent to their homes in the hope that they would induce their people to ask for peace. Although Frontenac was sixty-eight years of age he was still active and energetic in mind and body. On landing, he learned with dismay, that orders have been given for the withdrawal of the garrison from Fort Frontenac and hastened to Montreal with the intention of countermanding them. On arriving there he found that the post had been already destroyed, together with a considerable supply of provisions and munitions and three small vessels.

A few days later a raiding party of Indians burnt the whole of the settlement of La Chesnaye, opposite the Island of Montreal and killed twenty persons. During the winter, negotiations for peace with the Iroquois were renewed without success, and as their failure was attributed mainly to the influence of the English, the new Governor determined to harass their colonies by a guerilla warfare. Three parties were equipped to make simultaneous raids on their frontier settlements by different routes.

The first of these, organized at Montreal, consisted of one hundred and twenty Canadians and provincial troops and one hundred friendly Indians, under the command of Sainte-Helene and de Mantet. Marching on snow shoes through the woods early in February, the coldest season of the year, they fell unexpectedly upon the fort and village of Schenectady which were taken by surprise and entirely destroyed with the exception of two houses. Many of the inhabitants were killed and the remainder carried off as prisoners. A second party, organized at Three Rivers, was commanded by Francis Hertel who was accompanied by three of his sons, twenty-four other Canadians and twenty-five Indians. Leaving on the 28th of January, they made their way with much difficulty along the valleys of the St. Francois and Connecticut Rivers, and after a painful march of nearly two months duration, attacked the settlement of Salmon Falls which was protected by two stockades and a large fortified house. These were taken and destroyed with nearly all the other buildings and a great number of cattle. The third party, organized at Quebec, was commanded by de Portneuf, a son of the Baron de Becancour, who had as his Lieutenant, le Gardeur de Courtemanche. It consisted of fifty Canadians and sixty Indians and began its march also on the 28th of January. Its objectives were the new settlements at Casco Bay, on the sea-coast frontier of Massachusetts. De Portneuf's advance was slow, as his men were obliged to support themselves by hunting, and it was the 25th day of May before he arrived in the vicinity of Casco, which was protected by a strong fort, armed with eight guns, and four other smaller forts. An armed party which sallied from the larger fort to reconnoitre, was surprised and defeated with severe loss. The smaller forts were taken with little difficulty and the settlements laid waste. The principal fort was then invested and summoned to surrender. The commandant announced his intention of resisting to the last, but when he saw that preparations were being made to set the fort on fire, he surrendered his garrison of seventy men with a large number of women and children. The forts and neighbouring houses were destroyed and on the first of June, de Portneuf began his return march, and arrived at Quebec on the 23rd of the same month. In all of these parties there were several of the younger members of the Canadian noblesse and gentry who proved themselves to be ideal leaders in this kind of warfare, but most of their operations were attended with lamentable bloodshed and cruelty on the part of the Indians.

The success of these forays revived the drooping spirits of the colonists and their Indian allies, but their joy was of short duration. War parties of the enemy soon made their appearance, both in the district of Montreal and that of Three Rivers. One of these was led into an ambush near La Prairie by a party of twenty militia-men from Pointe-Aux-Trembles, commanded by Lieut. de Colombes, and defeated with considerable loss. The Canadians lost a dozen men, among them being their leader. Another party raided the Seigniorie of Becancour and made many prisoners. To check these incursions, Frontenac organized two small moveable columns, one under de la Motte, to patrol the river from Three Rivers to Saint-Francois du Lac, the

other under de Clermont, to perform the same service on the other bank between Montreal and Sorel. Both of these detachments had sharp encounters with the enemy with varying success. Finally de la Motte fell into an ambush on one of the islands in Lake Saint Peter, and was killed with the greater part of his men. The inhabitants were kept in a constant state of alarm and several parties of harvesters were attacked. At length an Indian scout came in from the vicinity of Albany and announced that he had discovered a large body of the enemy on the shores of Lake George, where they were busily engaged in building many boats and canoes. The whole of the available force was immediately assembled at Montreal, where all the friendly Indians were collected for a council of war. A great feast was made for them on the 25th of August, the name-day of Saint-Louis, which was attended by the Count de Frontenac, dressed as an Indian chief, adorned with feathers and war paint, and carrying a tomahawk in his hand. After addressing the assembled chiefs and warriors, he offered them the axe, sang a war song, and danced the war dance. A few days later, the messenger from Fort Chambly confirmed the former report, and announced that the enemy was advancing down Lake Champlain. The troops still engaged in the harvest in the neighbouring fields were hastily recalled, and some companies sent across the river to La Prairie from which direction it was expected the enemy would approach. On reviewing his force, the governor found that he had twelve hundred men under arms including Indians.

A body of about two thousand men, militia and Indians from the provinces of Connecticut and New York, had in fact been assembled for the invasion of the colony but an epidemic of small pox having broken out among them, the expedition was abandoned and the force dispersed. On learning this, Frontenac once more released the greater part of his troops, both soldiers and militia, to gather in the harvest and had begun preparations for putting them into winter quarters, when a messenger arrived from Quebec with the alarming information that a numerous fleet of the enemy's ships was advancing up the river St. Lawrence, and had already destroyed some fishing settlements on the shore of the gulf.

Embarking on the 10th October, a few hours after receiving this news, Frontenac met next day at Sorel, a second messenger who informed him that an English fleet of thirty-three sail had taken a French vessel, ninety miles below Quebec. As there could no longer be any doubt of the approach of a formidable force of the enemy, an officer was sent back to Montreal with orders for all the troops and a great part of the militia to follow as soon as possible and similar orders were given at Three Rivers when the governor passed that place. His ship having been detained by contrary winds, he entered a canoe and arrived at Quebec at noon on the 14th to the great joy of the inhabitants who relied with the utmost confidence upon his courage, energy and skill.

The English fleet slowly advancing up the river conveyed a considerable body of colonial troops from Massachusetts under the command of Sir William Phipps, who had already taken the forts of Port Royal and Chedabuctou on the coast of Acadia, and compelled the inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England. Frontenac had little time to prepare for defence as on the 16th of October, the whole fleet anchored off Quebec and began preparations for landing. Several days elapsed before these were completed and in the interval new batteries were built and armed and the fortifications of the town greatly strengthened. The militia of Three Rivers under the command of Hertel soon arrived and were followed a few days later by eight hundred men from the district of Montreal, commanded by de Callières. The militia from the district of Quebec assembled in full force and had already distinguished themselves by their activity in resisting some attempts to land below the town. In one of these, the militia of the parish of Rivière Ouëlle led by their curé, M. de Francheville, wearing the distinctive blue cap and great-coat of the local militia, and armed with a reliable shot-gun, had inflicted some loss on a party that attempted to come on shore at that place.

On the afternoon of the 18th, all the troops were landed from the fleet near the mouth of the River St. Charles, and on advancing inland came under a heavy fire from a body of colonial troops and militia who had taken a favourable position to oppose the passage of a small stream, where they were concealed among bushes and rocks. After an action lasting for an hour, the French were compelled to retire with some loss. Capt. de Clermont was killed and M. Juchereau de Saint-Denis, seignior of Beaufort, who commanded the militia from that parish, was severely wounded. The English slowly advanced towards the town and encamped on its outskirts just out of range

of the batteries. Here they remained for two days without making any further offensive movement. On the afternoon of the 20th, they were attacked by a small party commanded by the brothers, de Longueuil and Sainte-Hélène, and in this skirmish the latter officer was mortally wounded. Next day, some small detachments of colonial troops accompanied by the militia of Beauport, Beauré, and the island of Orleans again advanced from the town and commenced a brisk attack. The following night was very dark and rainy and the English commander took advantage of this to re-embark his troops without molestation, leaving behind him, however, five guns and some munitions. These were seized by a party of volunteers from Beauré and Beauport who defended them successfully against a detachment sent from the fleet to recover them. This body of militia was commanded by the Sieur Carré who was joined by forty young men from the seminary of Saint-Joachim to whom Frontenac presented one of the captured cannon, and gave another to the militia. In engaging the batteries by the water side, the English ships had received some damage, and as the weather had grown cold and stormy, Phipps reluctantly decided to abandon the siege and return to Boston. Before sailing he proposed a general exchange of prisoners which was carried out. Frontenac warmly praised the courage and devotion of the inhabitants of Quebec as well as the militia of Montreal, Three Rivers, and the surrounding country who had hastened with such alacrity to the defence of the place, and the departure of the fleet was naturally hailed as a great victory.

The great scarcity of food in the colony prevented Frontenac from sending out any raiding parties during the winter. Early in May, a body of several hundred Iroquois established a camp near the mouth of the Ottawa River, which became a base for their inroads upon the district of Montreal. The parish of Pointe-aux-Trembles was entirely devastated by them. Another party surprised some friendly Indians between Chambly and La Prairie while a third surrounded the Indian village on the mountain at Montreal and carried off several inhabitants. Other parties harried the settlements from Repentigny to the islands of Lake St. Peter, and did much damage without being molested, as lack of provisions prevented the troops and militia from entering the field to oppose them. Finally M. de Vaudreuil, having diligently collected supplies from house to house, went in pursuit with one hundred men, mainly volunteers from the militia. On the 7th June, fifteen Iroquois warriors were surrounded in a house at Repentigny, and although they were ultimately all killed, François Le Moyne de Bienville, the fifth son of Charles Le Moyne, was mortally wounded in this fight. In July a squadron of ships arrived from France with provisions and reinforcements which restored confidence.

The governor and intendant were directed by an order from the king to make every exertion to train and equip the militia for active service. Patents of nobility were granted to Hertel as a reward for his services and to Juchereau de St. Denis who had been wounded at the siege of Quebec. Le Moyne de Longueuil was promoted to the command of a company, his brother, de Maricourt, was granted half pay, and commissions as subalterns in the colonial troops were reserved for other Canadian gentlemen.

Supplies were at once shipped to Montreal where all the troops were assembled for the purpose of dislodging the enemy from their position on the Ottawa, but they withdrew before these preparations could be completed. Shortly after, a scouting party commanded by young Hertel brought in a prisoner who stated that a large body of the enemy were advancing by Lake Champlain under the command of a famous partisan officer, Major Peter Schuyler of Albany. A party of chosen troops and militia was at once despatched to reinforce the garrison of Fort Chambly and seven or eight hundred more, partly colonial troops and partly militia, crossed the river to La Prairie, where there was another small fort. Here they were suddenly attacked on the night of the 10th-11th August by Schuyler's force which had stealthily approached under cover of darkness. Before they recovered from their confusion, the French suffered very severe loss. Four captains of the colony troops were killed in rallying their men. After a fierce fight which lasted nearly three hours Schuyler was repelled with severe loss. The leader of the Canadians, Le Ber Duchesne, was mortally wounded. Frontenac declared in an official letter, that no action in Canada, since the establishment of the colony, had reflected more credit on the king's arms, or been of so great advantage, as it gave the inhabitants security while finishing their harvest, without which they would have been reduced to the greatest distress.

In the month of November, the Iroquois renewed their attacks but were driven off without doing much damage. During the following spring they showed so little ac-

tivity that Frontenac went down to Quebec to meet the reinforcements which he expected to receive from France. During his absence the seigniory of La Chesnaye was again laid waste, and a number of the inhabitants carried off while engaged in hay-making. Vaudreuil pursued the invaders with four hundred men and overtaking them at the Long Sault, inflicted severe loss. Still a few days later, a party under Captain de Lusignan returning from Three Rivers, was attacked on Lake St. Peter; de Lusignan was killed and his party dispersed. In August, Frontenac returned to Montreal, bringing with him three hundred militiamen from the district of Quebec, whose assistance he deemed necessary to protect the harvesters in gathering their crops, which was accomplished without much loss. He then made deliberate preparations to attack the Indians once more in their villages. The intendant was instructed to provide supplies, snow shoes, and sleds for six hundred men. In the month of January, 1693, a force consisting of one hundred colonial troops, two hundred Indians and more than four hundred young Canadian volunteers, was assembled at Montreal for this expedition. Many of these men came from a great distance, some even from the new settlements more than one hundred miles below Quebec. At the request of the Indians, Lieuts. Mantet, Courtemanche and Lanoue of the colonial troops, but all natives of the country and accustomed from their infancy to long journeys in winter weather, were placed in command. Twenty-five or thirty other colonial officers offered their services, several of whom were permitted to accompany the force as volunteers.

Travelling on snow shoes and drawing their supplies on sleds this column marched from La Prairie on the 25th of January to attack the Mohawk villages about fifty miles from Albany. On the 16th of February they approached the nearest villages in the dark and captured two of them with little resistance. Two nights afterwards they attacked a third where many warriors were assembled for an expedition. A desperate fight followed in which twenty Mohawks and two Canadians were killed. All the captured villages were destroyed and the expedition began its retreat with three hundred prisoners but was closely pursued by Schuyler with nearly seven hundred men. Several sharp skirmishes took place in which the Canadians lost about fifty men, killed and wounded, among the latter the gallant Lanoue. A rapid thaw set in and impeded their retreat. Their sufferings were great, as the conveyance of so many wounded and the care of so many prisoners made their movements slow and difficult. Their provisions became exhausted and they were obliged to send forward a party to bring supplies from Montreal which barely enabled them to reach that place, completely worn out by fatigue, on the 17th of March. Even then they were obliged to leave most of their wounded behind in a small stockade under the protection of a few brave volunteers commanded by Courtemanche. Although this enterprise had by no means the success expected, still it caused the enemy considerable loss and spread terror on the frontiers of the province of New York.

Receiving information from different sources that a considerable squadron had arrived at Boston, and was preparing to make another attack upon Quebec, while at the same time eight hundred Iroquois and six hundred militia from Connecticut and New York were directed to advance against Montreal, Frontenac made every effort for the defence of the colony. The fortifications of Quebec were again strengthened and a strong place of refuge for the women and children was established on the island of Orleans. Another fort with four stone bastions connected by palisades and surrounded by a ditch was built at Montreal to protect the town. Sorel and Chambly were put in a better state of defence. Towards the middle of July, eight hundred Indians made their appearance near the Cascades at the farther end of Lake Saint Louis. De Callières assembled eight hundred men and was joined by de Vaudreuil with five companies of royal troops and one hundred and fifty recruits who had just arrived from France with whom they marched in search of the enemy. The Indians had decamped on learning their approach and the campaign terminated.

The fleet at Boston proceeded to the West Indies to attack the French colonies there but suffered so much loss from yellow fever that this design was also abandoned.

Negotiations for peace were renewed with the Indians mainly in the hope of securing an exchange of prisoners and gaining time for the cultivation of the land which was so important to the colonists. In these respects they were partially successful.

Ever since his return to the country, Frontenac had kept constantly in mind the re-establishment of a garrison at Cataragui, and in the spring 1694, he gave instructions for the organization of an expedition to occupy that place. When all was ready to move, he received orders from France to supply a force under command of the two

brothers, Le Moyne d'Iberville and de Serigny, for the attack of Port Nelson on Hudson Bay. One hundred and twenty Canadians and some Indians were selected for this expedition and the remainder disbanded.

In fact, the French government gave little breathing space to the Canadian militia as parties of them were constantly employed in conveying stores to Niagara, the Illinois, and Mackinac, or in making raids upon the British settlements on the frontiers of Acadia, in Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay. The force under d'Iberville and his brother consisted of two hundred picked men in two armed vessels which arrived in sight of Port Nelson on the 20th September. They were prevented by ice from approaching the fort for nearly a month, but on the 28th of October, the troops were landed and the siege began. In repelling a sortie, de Chateauguay, a younger brother of the leaders of the expedition was killed, but a few days later the garrison capitulated and the captured post received the name of Fort Bourbon. Winter soon set in and d'Iberville was detained by ice until the beginning of September in the following year, when he sailed for France with a valuable cargo of furs, leaving a garrison of two officers, sixty-four Canadians and six Indians.

The negotiations with the Indians had been protracted without any definite result and in the spring of 1695, Frontenac decided to rebuild and reoccupy the fort at Cataragui as a base for future operations. One hundred and ten men were recruited in the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers, and were joined at Montreal by thirty-six officers, fifty militiamen, two hundred colonial troops and two hundred Indians, under the command of Chevalier de Crisasy, an Italian officer of great merit. A few days after the departure of the troops from Montreal, letters were received from France absolutely disapproving of the project, but it was then too late to recall the troops. The dismantled fort was quickly repaired and placed in a state of defence without the loss of a man. A garrison of forty-eight soldiers were left behind and the remainder returned to Montreal, discovering on their way that the Indians were once more assembling for an invasion of the colony. This information gave the governor of Montreal an opportunity of putting his garrison on the alert and the Ile Perrot was occupied with a force of eight hundred men. These measures, however, did not prevent the Indians from making some desultory incursions which were repelled before much damage was done.

Preparations for the contemplated expedition against the Iroquois were steadily continued. It was intended to direct the first blow against the Onondagas, who were believed to be the nation most firmly attached to the English and opposed to any treaty of peace. By attacking them during the winter it was anticipated that many women and children might be captured and that this would induce the warriors to submit. An unusual fall of snow early in the year compelled a modification of this scheme. It was next proposed to despatch a force consisting of all the militia of the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal, with the friendly Indians and soldiers trained to the use of snow shoes, against the Mohawks, but the escape of a prisoner of that nation from Montreal caused the abandonment of this plan. Three hundred men, of whom some were Indians, were sent to reconnoitre the peninsula between the Saint Lawrence and Ottawa under the command of Louvigny, who was accompanied by three other colonial officers. That part of the country was found entirely clear of the enemy and the small garrison of Fort Frontenac fully on the alert and in good health and spirits. The detachment returned to Montreal about the end of March, having suffered from scarcity of provisions and the difficulty of marching, as the snow in the woods was reported to be seven feet deep on the level. The militia and friendly Indians from all parts of the colony were ordered to assemble at Montreal on the 22nd of June. Frontenac arrived from Quebec on the same day and found that the necessary boats, munitions and provisions had already been collected by the intendant. On the 6th of July, the whole force encamped on Ile Perrot. Five hundred Indians had arrived who were divided into three bands under the orders of de Maricourt, Le Gardeur and the Baron de Becancour. The regular force was organized in four battalions each of two hundred men, under the command of four oldest captains of the colonial troops. The militia numbering nearly a thousand men was also organized in four battalions; that from Quebec being commanded by M. de St. Martin; the battalion from Beauport by de Granville; the battalion from Three Rivers by de Grandpré, and the Montreal battalion by d'Eschambault, crown attorney for that town. Three days later this small army began its advance, taken with it several small pieces of field artillery. The labour of surmounting the rapids was very great, and only accomplished by the extraordinary efforts of the militia who displayed the greatest skill and activity in this

work. A halt of six days was made at Cataragui. Lake Ontario was then crossed without accident and on the 28th of July, a landing was made at the mouth of Oswego river. The boats were taken up the river, carried around the falls, and thence ascended the stream to Oneida Lake, and entered the Onondaga river. A fortified camp was established there for the protection of the boats and provisions, and the march was continued on the 4th of August, Frontenac being carried in the litter, escorted by his staff. The Indians had intended to await the attack in their principal village where, with the assistance of some English officers, they had built a strong fort of earth and palisades, but finding that they would not receive reinforcements they expected from the other nations, had abandoned it and destroyed the whole village by fire. Three days were spent in destroying the vast fields of Indian corn which surrounded this village for five miles in all directions. The Onondagas had retreated into the woods a distance of fifty or sixty miles and it seemed useless to pursue them. A deputation arrived from the Oneidas bringing in a French prisoner as a peace-offering, and they announced their willingness to accept such terms as might be imposed upon them, provided their villages were not harmed. This proposal was rejected and the nearest village was occupied and destroyed with the neighbouring fields of grain. Frontenac next proposed to advance against the Cayugas, and announced his intention of building a fort on the site of each of the ruined villages, to prevent the Indians from returning. De Callières offered to remain there during the winter and the governor selected de Maricourt and some other officers, mostly native Canadians, for service under him as being more accustomed to a life in the woods than others. On reflection, however, he suddenly changed his mind and decided to return at once to Montreal. This caused considerable discontent, especially among the Canadians and Indians who were anxious to continue the campaign. Only thirty-five prisoners were taken and Frontenac lost but four men, one of whom was killed during the retreat and the other three were drowned in shooting the rapids. The destruction of their crops caused the Indians great distress as the English colonists were unable to supply them with sufficient provisions.

Frontenac lost no time in returning to Quebec to receive the orders of the court. He was then directed to detach two hundred men composed of regular troops and Canadian volunteers to Placentia in Newfoundland, where they were to await the arrival of d'Iberville. That officer having taken and destroyed the post of Pemquid, built on the frontier of Acadia to overawe the Indians, was unable to reach Placentia before the middle of September. Several English fishing posts had been established on the eastern shore of the island, and it was against these that the expedition was directed. Placentia was the only place of consequence in the hands of the French. The governor of this place claimed the command of the whole force. The Canadians, however, declared that they would only follow d'Iberville and threatened to take to the woods if they were required to serve under another. On All Saints Day, they began their march across the island to attack St. John. The snow had already begun to fall and the weather became stormy. The town was taken with little difficulty and the fort invested. It surrendered on the last day of the year when it was demolished and the settlement destroyed to prevent its re-occupation. D'Iberville with his Canadian followers continued the campaign in spite of the inclemency of the weather. Providing themselves with snow shoes and carrying their provisions on their backs, they easily made themselves masters of the remaining fishing stations with the exception of Bonavista and the island of Carbonnière both which places were pronounced too strongly fortified to be attacked. D'Iberville's force consisted of only one hundred and forty four men and he reported the capture of between five and six hundred prisoners, most of whom, no doubt, were taken in small parties. Charlevoix effusively compared this band of "brave Canadians" to the tenth legion "who would only fight under the leadership of Caesar, and at whose head, Caesar was invincible." Among the young Canadian officers, named as having particularly distinguished themselves by their courage and contempt for hardships were de Martigny, Boucher de La Perriere, d'Amour de Plaine, d'Amour des Chaffours and Dugué de Boisbriand. D'Iberville afterwards returned to Placentia to prepare for a nattack upon the English posts, and awaited the arrival of his brother, de Serigny, from France, by whom he received an imperative order to embark with his Canadian followers and recover Fort Bourbon which had been taken by an English squadron. On arriving in sight of Port Nelson on the 5th of September 1697, with his squadron of five vessels, he encountered three large English ships and a fierce battle followed. The largest English ship was sunk in the course of the action and another taken. The fort was invested and surrendered a few days later.

Frontenac was obliged by the great scarcity of provisions to abandon his plan of harassing the Indians by small parties. The organization of the expedition against the Onondagas had caused neglect in seeding, the harvest had not been large and the price of grain became enormous. It would be a matter of difficulty to maintain his troops even in their quarters without undertaking offensive operations. Fortunately the Iroquois were not aggressive and even sent a deputation to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners and ostensibly to treat for peace. In the spring of 1697, the negotiations were renewed. The governor had then received orders to hold all the colonial troops and militia of the colony in readiness for a secret expedition, the object of which was not disclosed even to him. Like former orders of similar purport received from the ministry, these instructions greatly hampered his operations against the Iroquois. Anticipating a formidable attack upon the colony, La Motte-Cadillac, the commandant of Mackinac, was summoned to the defence of Montreal where he arrived with three hundred western Indians.

On the 17th September, a small squadron arrived at Quebec, bringing confidential despatches from the commander of the combined naval and military force fitted out at La Rochelle for the conquest of New England. The fleet had been late in its departure from France and was further delayed by contrary winds; consequently it failed to arrive at Placentia in Newfoundland until the 24th July. As the troops expected to join it from Canada, could not possibly arrive before the 10th of September, and the fleet was only provisioned for fifty days, a council of war decided to abandon the design. All the supply ships intended for Canada were sent on to Quebec with these despatches. By the same messenger, Frontenac received a royal edict prohibiting all officers and soldiers quartered at the frontier posts from trading with the Indians under heavy penalties. This caused much dissatisfaction and drew a strong remonstrance from the governor. Another royal ordinance was also received authorising the discharge of all soldiers serving in the colonial troops who married in the country. They were to be granted pay for one year, and allowed to retain their clothing, arms and accoutrements.

Early in May, 1698, Schuyler arrived from Albany with nineteen French prisoners and announced that a treaty of peace had been concluded at Ryswick, between the contending European powers, by which the frontier of Acadia was to be delimited, the trading posts on Hudson Bay were ceded to France and those in Newfoundland, with the exception of Placentia restored to the English. The Iroquois again showed a disposition to treat for peace, the conclusion of which Frontenac was not destined to see, as he died suddenly in November, 1698, after a few days illness, leaving behind him the reputation of having been the greatest governor of New France, which has been confirmed by the verdict of posterity.

De Callières was eventually appointed governor general and de Vaudreuil succeeded him as governor of Montreal. The Iroquois released their prisoners and after a long negotiation, a treaty of peace was ultimately signed at Montreal, on the 8th September, 1700. During this war which lasted for more than ten years, the colony had suffered severely, not only from invasion, but from the almost continuous absence of the militia on active service, who consequently had little time to attend to their ordinary occupations. The noblesse and gentry had as a rule proved themselves efficient leaders and displayed great courage, endurance, resourcefulness and skill in the conduct of minor military operations at the head of their tenants and the local militia. The colonial troops were also mainly officered from among them. The militia had become a tolerably well trained and efficient irregular force, and the clergy generally had shown their zeal and resolution in animating their parishioners in the performance of their military duties, some times actually leading them to the field, and often marching with them in their campaigns.

More than two thousand recruits had arrived in detachments from France to strengthen the colonial forces, very few of whom ever returned to their native land. Many of them married and received their discharges in the colony. The discipline and efficiency of the militia were naturally improved by the inclusion of so many trained soldiers in its ranks.

The interval of peace was of short duration, as France and England were soon involved as enemies in a fresh conflict which became known in history as the War of the Spanish Succession. As long as the Iroquois remained friendly the colony had little to fear from any invasion by land. Consequently, the governor-general made every effort to keep on good terms with these Indians.

During this past decade of incessant warfare the population of the colony had increased slowly, if at all. Farming had been neglected as most of the able-bodied men were constantly kept under arms. Seeding was done hastily and carelessly, and often none but the women, children and old men remained upon the farms to sow the grain and reap the harvest. In the autumn of 1700, the crop was very scanty. In the following winter the inhabitants in the country were obliged to dig up roots in the woods to save themselves from starvation. In the towns, their sufferings were still greater, and the entire population was deprived of most of the necessities of life. The renewal of hostilities filled them with dismay. An expedition against Placentia was fitted out in New England but failed, after taking a few fishing vessels. The governor of Acadia warned de Callières that a formidable naval and military force, including some militia from New York, was being collected at Boston. The fortifications at Quebec were repaired and reinforcements again demanded from France. While engaged in these preparations for defence, de Callières was suddenly overtaken by death and the administration of the affairs in the colony devolved upon de Vaudreuil as the officer next in rank. In his anxiety to maintain peace with the Iroquois, the new governor promised that he would abstain from any attack upon the province of New York, but declared that he would not spare the people of New England, as they had already attacked his Indian allies in Acadia. He sent a large party under Lieut. de Beaubassin against the frontier of Massachusetts, which ravaged many miles of country and killed or took prisoners three hundred persons. This incursion was, however, strongly condemned by the French minister, Pontchartrain, who wrote "I know that the English desired peace because war is fatal to the interests of all their colonies; the French have always begun hostilities in Canada."

The English settlers promptly retaliated by attacking the Abenakis and the chiefs of that tribe urgently called for assistance. During the winter of 1703-4, de Vaudreuil despatched a force of two hundred and fifty men under Hertel de Rouville, a retired officer of the colonial troops, who was accompanied by four of his brothers. This party ascended Lake Champlain and thence crossing to the Connecticut River marched upon the ice against Deerfield, the nearest settlement. This village was protected by a small fort and some fortified houses, occupied by a garrison of twenty soldiers. It was surprised in the night and taken with very little resistance. Forty-seven persons were killed, one hundred and twenty taken prisoners, and the village reduced to ashes. Rouville was wounded himself but lost only three men besides a few Indians. Many of the younger prisoners were adopted into Canadian families and never returned to their former homes.

The Iroquois still remained neutral but the governor of New York invited them to meet him in council at Albany, a measure which was regarded by de Vaudreuil with strong suspicion. The Senecas had even hinted their willingness to act as mediators between the French and English. When informed of this the French minister directed the governor to agree to a state of neutrality in America, but remarked that it was not politic to obtain this by the intervention of the Indians. De Vaudreuil's efforts in this direction were unsuccessful, but they served to convince the Indians that the French did not want war.

A seaman named La Grange who had taken part in the last campaign at Hudson Bay under d'Iberville, planned an expedition against the English settlements in Newfoundland. He fitted out two small vessels, enlisted one hundred young Canadians, obtained a letter of marque from the Governor and attempted to surprise Bonavista. In this he failed, but took several valuable prizes with which he returned to Quebec. This encouraged the governor of Acadia to propose another expedition in greater strength. The French government approved this plan, and he was authorized to enlist men at Quebec and transport them to Placentia. A force of four hundred and fifty men was assembled under the command of de Beaucourt and de Montigny, two noted partisan leaders, both of whom had already served in Newfoundland under d'Iberville. They were repulsed in an attack on the fort of St. John, but destroyed several fishing settlements on the coast and made many prisoners.

The year 1705 was regarded as one of the great calamity for Canada as a large ship of war on its way to Quebec, loaded with supplies valued at a million livres, was taken by the English. Among the passengers who became prisoners were the bishop of Quebec and several priests. De Vaudreuil was at length formally installed as governor, his commission having been several times delayed through accidents. For the next two years the continuation of hostilities affected Canada very slightly, but on

the 15th June, 1707, an English fleet appeared before Port Royal in Acadia, and landed a considerable body of troops. An attempt at assault was easily repelled and the whole force re-embarked two days later. This successful defence was largely attributed to the opportune arrival of sixty Canadian volunteers shortly before the appearance of the enemy, as the inhabitants of the place, having received no support from France for three years, were much inclined to surrender.

A second attempt a few months later, led by Colonel March, met with no better success. His squadron appeared before Port Royal on the 20th August, and landed troops next day. All the colonists within thirty miles had been assembled for the defence of the place and the garrison was reinforced by the crew of the royal frigate, *Bisone*, which had been recently completed by the enlistment of sixty Canadians at Quebec. The advanced guard of the invaders fell into an ambush and was roughly handled. The whole force shortly afterwards re-embarked and on the first of September, set sail for Boston.

Early in the following spring an expedition was organized at Montreal, composed of about four hundred chosen men, of whom one half were militia and volunteers, among the latter being several officers of the colonial troops, and the remainder Abenakis and Huron Indians. The militia and volunteers were commanded by Hertel de Rouville and Saint Ours des Chaillons; Boucher de la Perrière was in charge of the Indians. Marching in two parties from Montreal, one following the river St. Francis and the other going by way of Lake Champlain, they had agreed to meet at Lake Nikisipique, where they were to be joined by the Indians from Acadia. A further advance was delayed for various reasons and many of the Indians returned to their villages because one of them had been killed by an accident which they considered a bad omen. The party was then reduced to two hundred men but having received orders to proceed, they attacked the village of Haverhill on the river Merrimac, guarded by a small fort, having a garrison of thirty soldiers. The place was taken with little resistance, and set on fire. The alarm spread rapidly and they soon heard drums beating and the trumpets sounding in the neighbouring villages. During its retreat, Hertel's force was briskly attacked by a party lying in ambush in the woods but succeeded in repelling it with heavy loss. A large number of prisoners were brought off, many of them being women and children. The French lost three Indians and five Canadians killed, among the latter two young officers of great promise, Hertel de Chambly, a brother of de Rouville, and Jared de Verchères.

Another expedition fitted out at Placentia succeeded in taking St. John in Newfoundland, on the 1st January, 1709. The fortifications were dismantled and the place abandoned as troops could not be spared for its occupation.

These events caused so much annoyance to the English government that they decided to make another vigorous effort to expel the French from Acadia and Newfoundland, and then attempt the conquest of Canada. Five regiments of regular troops were placed under orders to embark from England and bodies of volunteers were recruited in New York and New England. A sudden turn in the war in the Spanish Peninsula altered these plans and the departure of troops from England was countermanded. The military preparations in New York and the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with the Iroquois became known to Vaudreuil by a letter from a Canadian missionary residing among the Onondagas. The greater part of the colonial troops were assembled at Montreal early in January and the militia ordered to be in readiness to move on short notice. De Rouville was sent with 250 men to reconnoitre the shores of Lake Champlain but he returned without discovering any trace of the enemy. Two months later the appearance near Lake Champlain of a large force of English and Indians was reported and de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, was ordered to march against it with a body of fifteen hundred men among them being six hundred militia, organized in six companies, commanded by de Rouville, Saint-Martin, des Jordis, de Sabrevois, de Ligneris and des Chaillons. A small detachment of the enemy was routed near the lake and a number of prisoners taken. It was then learned that the English had strongly fortified their camp and were building boats for a further advance. The Indians declared that it would be rash to attack them in this position and a council of war decided to retire to Montreal. The fortifications of Chambly and Montreal were repaired, and de Vaudreuil returned to Quebec, where new works were under construction. A report that an English squadron was advancing up the river caused a general alarm and the militia were assembled in large numbers for the defence of the town. This news proved to be false and it was also soon learned that the army assembled for the invasion of the province had retired from Lake Champlain without attempting any further movement.

The joy of the colonists on hearing this was soon changed into sorrow by the ill-success of an expedition, headed by de Mantet against Fort Sainte-Anne on Hudson Bay. His party had succeeded in reaching the palisades surrounding this place without being discovered when their leader was killed by the first fire of the garrison. His followers became utterly discouraged at this loss and returned to Canada.

Port Royal was closely blockaded for several months in the summer of 1710, and in the following October, a large fleet anchored before that place and landed several thousand men under the command of General Nicholson. As a successful defence against such a force seemed out of the question, the garrison yielded at once. By the terms of capitulation, the whole province of Acadia was surrendered. Port Royal then received the name of Annapolis Royal in honour of the reigning queen of England and a strong garrison was left in possession.

On learning this loss Vaudreuil felt certain that an attack on Quebec would not be long delayed. De Longueuil was sent to treat for peace with the Five Nations, and work on the fortifications of Quebec was resumed. Le Gardeur de Saint Pierre and Tonti, who had gone to the west to collect the Indians, opportunely arrived at Montreal with nearly five hundred warriors. The colonial troops and militia were held in readiness to march at a moment's warning. When de Vaudreuil returned to Quebec, he found it in a position to stand a siege with confidence. The appearance of an English fleet in the Bay of Gaspé was soon reported and at the same time a large force, including several hundred Indians began its march from Albany toward Lake Champlain. A strong detachment was organized at Montreal, under command of the Baron de Longueuil to observe the movements of the enemy in that quarter. Before leaving Montreal he was presented by the Grand Vicar with a banner on which a well known nun, Mademoiselle le Ber, had embroidered a prayer to the Holy Virgin.

On his arrival at Chambly, Longueuil learned that the English army had suddenly retreated, after destroying its magazines and stockades. The cause of this movement was unknown but it raised the hopes of the colonists to the highest point. The colonial troops and militia from Montreal at once hastened to the relief at Quebec where they arrived in the greatest spirits, declaring their impatience for a sight of the English fleet. They were immediately set to work on the fortifications which they shown the greatest zeal. They were so noisy at night that a local annalist naively relates that they greatly disturbed the sleep of the inhabitants.

The regular troops from England had arrived at Boston early in July and great efforts were made throughout the English Colonies to co-operate in the contemplated expedition. On the 18th August, a numerous fleet under the command of Admiral Hovenden Walker, bearing these troops cast anchor in the Bay of Gaspé. The wind suddenly shifted to the east and a dense fog covered the river which prevented its further approach and in attempting to put out to sea, eight of the transports were driven on the rocks where they went to pieces and many men perished. This disaster caused the abandonment of the expedition and the fleet returned to England without even attempting an ascent of the river. By many Canadians the failure of these plans was devoutly attributed to divine intervention.

The French ministry strongly desired to follow up this advantage by an effort to regain Port Royal and the province of Acadia. This was considered equally necessary for the preservation of their other settlements in North America and the protection of their fisheries. De Vaudreuil was desired to undertake this task with the Canadian militia. He asked for the assistance of two ships of war but was unable to obtain them. As an evidence of good faith, he had already ordered a detachment from Quebec to assist the Indians and Acadian colonists in blockading Port Royal, but the news of the approach of the English fleet had forced him to recall this small party.

The Iroquois renewed their professions of friendship, which were not believed to be entirely sincere, but at all events, they made no serious effort to invade or harass Canada. In the west, a bitter warfare had begun between the Renards or Foxes, then a numerous and warlike tribe, and the Indians in alliance with the French. Du Buisson, the commandant of Detroit, was compelled to take the field in support of the allied nations, and with the assistance of his artillery, the Renards were eventually dislodged from their stronghold and slaughtered without mercy in the pursuit.

Canada was not again threatened with invasion during this war, and in 1713, a treaty of peace was signed at Utrecht by which the French posts on Hudson Bay and Newfoundland together with the entire province of Acadia were ceded to Great Britain.

The Indian nations who had taken arms on either side were also guaranteed from future molestation by subjects of France and Great Britain respectively.

In spite of an epidemic of small pox which had caused many deaths, particularly in the year 1703, the population of the province had considerably increased. In 1713, the white inhabitants were reported to number 18,440 of whom 4,444 were males fit for military service between the ages of fourteen and sixty. The colony troops consisted of twenty-eight companies having a total strength of 628 of all ranks. The treaty of Utrecht was followed by more than thirty years of peace, broken only by a few punitive expeditions against the Indians in the west. Forts Frontenac and Niagara secured the safe navigation of Lake Ontario for French shipping. Great trading posts were established at Detroit and Mackinac, which were frequented by most of the Indians in those regions. Many Canadians followed d'Iberville to Louisiana when he founded that colony and took an active part in establishing settlements at Mobile, Natchez, Cahokia and other points on the Mississippi. Intercourse between the two colonies was frequent and intimate. Traffic with the Indians became very profitable and in 1727, a company was organized for trade beyond the Mississippi under the name of "Compagnie des Sioux." Its agents explored the vast region beyond that river as far as the foot of the Rocky Mountains and built several small trading posts on the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries, as well as upon the Saskatchewan and other rivers of the north. Gradually the number of persons employed in the fur trade increased to about 4,000, many of whom were young Canadians who naturally preferred a life of adventure to less exciting occupations in the colony.

In the summer of 1730, the war with the Renards recommenced and they were defeated and dispersed with great slaughter. An expedition against them two years later under the command of de Villiers and de Repentigny was on the contrary repelled after a desperate fight in which both the French commanders were killed. In 1734, another force consisting of eighty colonial troops and 130 friendly Indians was despatched from Montreal to punish this tribe. After a journey which occupied no less than seven months, this party discovered an Indian fort on a branch of the Mississippi, which was found to be much stronger than had been anticipated. Finding themselves too weak to attack, a treaty of peace was hastily concluded which was afterwards condemned as humiliating. Le Moynes de Bienville, after much distinguished service at sea, had become governor of Louisiana. He was soon involved in hostilities with the Natchez and in 1723, marched against them with a considerable force among whom were a number of Canadian volunteers. This war continued intermittently with little success for some years. In a subsequent expedition against the Chickasaws, de Bienville met with a serious check and urgently requested the ministry in France to instruct the Governor of Canada to assist him with a reinforcement. M. de Beauharnois who had succeeded de Vaudreuil selected the Baron de Longueuil for the command of this force. As this campaign was likely to be protracted and attended with many hardships there was a marked unwillingness to volunteer for the service. The governor accordingly was obliged to issue orders for the draft of a militia force. It consisted of 440 men including some Indians, but most of the latter deserted on the march. A junction with the troops from Louisiana was effected at Fort Saint-Francois on the Mississippi, not far from the site of the present city of Memphis. De Bienville's force then consisted of 1,200 white troops and more than 2,000 Indians and negroes. Disease, however, soon broke out among them and he decided to leave the campaign entirely in the hands of the Canadians and their allied Indians, who, being accustomed to the hardships of winter in their own country, he strangely argued, would be able to resist the southern climate quite as well. Accordingly de Celoron marched against the enemy with his little force and succeeded in compelling them to sue for peace. Among other Canadian officers who distinguished themselves in this campaign, de Saint-Laurent, de Gannes, de la Chauvignerie, de Ligneris and le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre were specially named.

The organization of the militia was maintained apparently without much alteration. The division of the colony into parishes was revised in 1721, by a jurist from France whose scheme did not give satisfaction owing to his lack of local knowledge. His successor, M. Le Voories, was appointed as *Procureur-General* and special commissioner. Before altering the boundaries of any parish, he assembled the *habitans* and heard their suggestions and objections. The number of parishes was increased to 110, and his decisions appear to have given general satisfaction.

A royal memorandum of 15th May, 1725, addressed to the governor and intendant directed that all farmers, domestic servants and workmen should be enrolled in the

militia. Bailiffs were also required to perform service therein excepting those who were court-criers. If the gentry declined to act as officers they must be compelled to serve as privates. In a later letter, a list of officers was required, and astonishment was expressed that councillors who formerly felt it an honour to act as captains of militia had ceased to seek commissions. An order from the intendant, addressed to *Sieur Trudelle*, Captain of the militia of the *Côte de Beaupré*, dated the 2nd January, 1727, instructed him to inform the inhabitants of that parish that they must cut the timber necessary for bridges, and work at repairing the roads. On the 14th May, 1728, the president of the Navy Board wrote to the governor that it was observed that the general militia roll contained the names of 6,977 persons of whom 322 were without arms. They were to be induced to supply themselves at their own expense. An ordinance published by the intendant, Hocquart, on the 5th June, 1730, required all captains and other officers of the militia to supervise the necessary labor of the inhabitants upon the roads and public bridges, and in case of refusal, the work was to be carried out at the expense of the delinquents. Permission from the minister of marine was received the same year for the distribution of arms to discharged soldiers. Another ordinance published by the same official, dated the 17th February, 1738, authorised the officers of justice and captains and officers of the militia to take possession in any place whatsoever of as much wheat as was required for the troops, the hospitals, and the poor, paying for it at a rate of four livres per bushel.

An official memoir attributed to the intendant, Hocquart, apparently written in 1736, states the entire population of the colony at about 40,000 persons of whom 10,000 were fit for military service.

The writer describes the Canadians as generally tall, well made and of an active temperament. There were few mechanics or tradesmen among them but necessity had made them industrious. The rural inhabitants of the country were generally expert in the use of the axe. They manufactured most of their tools and agricultural implements and built their own houses and barns. Some of them had learned to weave a coarse kind of cloth called "drugget" of which much of their clothing was made. They were fond of distinctions and compliments and were proud of their courage, keenly sensitive to ridicule and any kind of reproof. They drank much brandy and frequently became intoxicated. Although strongly attached to their religion they were not considered particularly truthful. They were fond of hunting, boating and travelling and had not the heavy and rustic appearance of the French peasants. Naturally impatient of discipline, the chief method recommended to enforce it, was the selection of officers of the militia from the best educated and most influential inhabitants, giving them all possible support from the government to maintain their authority. The following families of noblesse were enumerated: *le Gardeur*, of which there were four branches; *Denys*, of which there were three branches; *Daillebout*, having four branches; *Boucher*, *Contrecoeur*, *La Valterie*, *St. Ours*, *Meloises*, *Tarrieu de la Perade*, *Le Moyne*, *Aubert*, *Hertel*, *Godefroy*, *Damours*. The head of the family of *Boucher* was then nearly ninety years of age, and had more than 190 children, grand children, brothers, nephews and other relatives. The two families of *Hertel* and *Godefroy* were also very numerous. Besides these, there were several other gentlemen serving in the colonial troops whose families had not been so long established in the colony. Many nobles and sons of officers desired to enter the military service, but as most of them were quite poor, they sought commissions as a mean of obtaining a livelihood rather than from other motives. The governor-general annually selected some of the most promising young men and sent them to France for service in the navy, in order to confirm the noblesse in their affection for the country. The colonial troops consisted of twenty-eight companies, each having a captain, a lieutenant, and two ensigns. Besides these, there were twenty-eight cadets, and 784 soldiers. This number was considered much too small to furnish sufficient garrisons for the frontier posts and the towns. The garrisons of the posts numbered 214 of all ranks, leaving a little more than 500 for the protection of the three towns.

A few of the seigniors, among them notably the *Baron de Longueuil*, had built large castellated mansions of solid masonry, well suited for defence and as places of refuge for their tenants.

Within the limits of the settled colony there were five Indian villages; the *Hurons* of *Lorette*, three leagues from *Quebec*, consisting of thirty warriors; two villages of *Abenakis* at *Three Rivers* and *Saint-Francois de Becancour*, numbering 300 warriors; two villages at the *Lake of Two Mountains*, one of *Iroquois*, the other of *Algonquins* and *Nipissings* containing between them 300 warriors. All of these Indians were nom-

inally Christians and allies of the French for many years. They had taken part in most of the offensive operations in former wars and were expected to afford considerable assistance in future.

The Five Nations were reported to have a fighting strength of 500 or 600 men, but although they professed friendship for the French, it was anticipated that their interests would incline them towards neutrality. There were three large Indian villages in the vicinity of Detroit; one of Hurons, with 250 warriors; one of Pottewatomies, with 150 warriors and the third of Ottawas, numbering 140 men. On Lake St. Clair there was a village of Sauteurs having 150 men. A village of Ottawas at Mackinac could furnish 200 men. Twelve leagues distant there was a village of Sauteurs consisting of 100 warriors. The Sacs still had a strength of 150 men. Many of them had removed to the river Saint-Joseph and separated from the Renards with whom they had formerly been closely allied. They were suing for peace with the French. The Folles Avouines numbered 150 warriors, and between sixty and eighty Renards had survived the prolonged campaign of extermination waged upon them. All of these Indians had a high reputation as fighting men, and with the exception of the Sacs and Renards, they seemed firmly attached to the French. In the whole of the French sphere of influence in North America, about thirty different nations or tribes had been distinguished, having a total strength, it was estimated, of between twenty and thirty thousand warriors.

In time of peace, the principal duty of the officers of militia was to furnish men for the maintenance of the roads, bridges, fortifications and other public works. Ordinances were issued from time to time, commanding the inhabitants to perform these services. Practically all the public roads were opened and maintained and the bridges built by the *corvée* labour of the *habitans*, under the orders of the seignior, or captain of militia, and the general supervision of a royal official called the *grand voyer*. His duties were defined in an ordinance passed in 1706, which directed him "to visit all the seigniories in which main roads had not been built, and to build such in concert with the proprietors of seigniories or in their absence, with the captains of the militia, unless there be a royal justice present; and to decide in accordance with the opinion of six of the oldest and most prominent *habitans* of the place where the roads ought henceforth to run, provided always that such roads should be at least twenty-four feet wide." The *habitans* of each parish were commanded to aid in the construction of such roads and work their days of *corvée* for this purpose whenever required. This statutory labour was commonly known as "the King's *corvée*" to distinguish it from the service due from the tenants to their seigniors upon their own domains. The amount of labour so required naturally varied from year to year, according to the extent and character of public works undertaken in any locality but the entire amount thus exacted does not appear to have ever been so great as to occasion any general complaint in ordinary times.

With the permission of the Five Nations, the governor of New York had established a trading post at Oswego, and began to collect materials for the construction of a fort. De Vaudreuil protested strongly against this aggressive act which threatened his line of communication with the western Indians and the colony of Louisiana. He responded by the construction of a strong stone fort at Niagara to replace the former stockade which had fallen into decay, and built two good sized ships for the navigation on Lake Ontario. The Baron de Longueuil was likewise directed to ask permission from the Five Nations for the establishment of a trading post among the Senecas.

De Vaudreuil died at Quebec on the 10th October, 1725, having administered the government for twenty-one years. He had spent the greater part of his life in Canada, and was well known to nearly all the inhabitants by whom his death was generally lamented. The government of the colony then devolved upon the Baron de Longueuil, governor of Montreal, who only administered it for a few months until the arrival of a new governor. This was the Marquis de Beauharnois, a naval officer of considerable distinction. The dread of a future war with the English was ever in his mind, and he made vigorous efforts to strengthen the defences of the colony. In 1731, an officer was sent with a detachment of soldiers and workmen, to build a strong stockade on the strait between the head of Lake Champlain and the "*grand marais*" near the place where an English force had encamped in 1709, and commenced to build boats for the invasion of Canada. The intendant reported that this post would effectually bar that route of approach in the future and enable a force from Canada to undertake offensive operations at will. The governor also urged the *habitans* to live in compact vil-

lages around which they were directed to construct stout palisades to protect them against any sudden attack. As his apprehensions of war continued to increase, agents were sent to sound the intentions of the Five Nations and western Indians, and steps were taken to increase French influence among them everywhere. A considerable garrison was stationed in the new post on Lake Champlain which received the name of Fort Saint-Frederic. At the same time it was well provided with artillery and munitions. Similar precautions were taken at Chambly and an engineer officer was despatched to Cataragui and Niagara to strengthen the fortifications at those points, and their garrisons were likewise reinforced. The entrenchments surrounding Quebec were completed and new batteries constructed. A census taken in 1744, showed a total of 11,285 men fit for military service of whom 4,647 resided in the district of Montreal, 1,059 in that of Three Rivers and 5,579 in the district of Quebec. Besides these, there were nearly a thousand men employed in the fur trade, and the transportation of merchandize and stores to the west. To repel an invasion of the province, the governor thought he could muster a total force of 600 colonial troops, about 12,000 militia, 400 Iroquois Indians from the villages of Sault Saint-Louis and the Lake of Two Mountains, 200 Algonquins and Nipissings and more than 700 Abenakis. The Five Nations were expected to remain neutral.

Information of an actual declaration of war did not reach Canada until the spring of 1744. The governor at once took further precautions for defence and warned the friendly Indians to be in readiness to join him in the field whenever ordered. His first plan was to attack Oswego, but he feared the hostility of the Five Nations and despatched a confidential officer, M. de la Chauvignerie, with a few Indians from Canada to ascertain their views on this point.

Early in the month of January, 1745, 120 Canadians and 400 Indians from the colony under Lieutenant Marin were despatched to Acadia to assist a small body of troops under M. de la Gannes, who was blockading Annapolis. The spring of that year was one of the earliest and finest ever known in the history of the colony. During the winter very little snow fell in the district of Quebec; seeding was finished before the end of April and the militia were accordingly set at liberty to undertake offensive operations. Before they could take the field, however, a large fleet with a numerous land force of militia from New England appeared before Louisbourg, and succeeded in taking that important fortress after a siege of forty-nine days. A powerful French fleet which had sailed for the purpose of recovering Acadia was so badly damaged by a great storm that it was obliged to take refuge in the harbour of Chibouctou (Halifax) to refit, and while there, nearly half of the troops on board perished from disease. The new governor of Canada, de la Jonquière, who was on board, took over the command after the death of two senior officers, and felt himself obliged to return to France.

At the beginning of June, a body of 680 militia had sailed from Quebec in seven small ships under the orders of M. de Ramezay, destined for Minas Basin where he was directed to await the arrival of the French fleet and assemble the neighbouring Indians. Learning of the disaster to the fleet, de Ramezay retreated to Beaubassin with a number of prisoners whom he had taken, leaving Coulon de Villiers with three hundred Canadians at Minas to protect the Acadian population. The garrison of Port Royal was in consequence strongly reinforced by militia from Massachusetts, and a detachment of 380 men was sent forward to occupy the settlement of Grand Pré. Here they were attacked by de Villiers who took advantage of a heavy snow storm to approach the place undiscovered after a forced march of seventeen days in intensely cold weather. The assault was made at 3 o'clock on the morning of 11th February, 1747. The garrison was scattered in ten fortified houses and de Villiers consequently divided his force into ten small parties to attack them simultaneously. Nine of these houses had been captured when de Villiers had his arm broken by a shot. The Chevalier de la Corne took the command and attacked the remaining house which was armed with several small pieces of cannon. After a stubborn defence the garrison of this house surrendered on favourable terms.

The governor gave the warmest praise to this small body of militia for the rapidity of its march in the coldest season of the year, the vigour of its attack, its excellent discipline and cheerful endurance of hardships. He desired it to remain in Acadia for the protection of the inhabitants but famine compelled de Ramezay to return to Canada where he arrived in the following June, bringing with him a large number of prisoners. The gallant de Villiers died from the effects of his wound shortly after his arrival at Quebec.

The Iroquois declared their strong wish to remain neutral and as early as July, 1745, their chiefs requested the governor of Canada to make no attack upon Oswego and refrain from carrying the war into their country.

Several other western nations, however took up arms for the French and ravaged the frontiers of the English colonies. Many small war-parties consisting of Canadians and Indians, were constantly on service from the autumn of 1745, until the month of August, 1746. They struck terror into the frontier settlements of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, to such an extent that many of the inhabitants deserted their farms and sought safety in the interior.

On returning from Acadia in the beginning of November 1745, Marin set out with 300 militia and 300 Indians from Fort Saint-Frederic, and on the night of the 28th-29th he surprised Saratoga, burnt the entire settlement and carried off one hundred prisoners.

At the request of some of the principal sufferers from this foray, Shirley, the energetic governor of Massachusetts, advocated a league of the northern English colonies for the organization of a force to destroy this fort and invade Canada from that quarter. Having received information of this, de Beauharnois despatched two detachments to the assistance of the commandant; one under command of M. de Muy, the other under M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, town major of Three Rivers. Their instructions were, in the first instance to maintain possession of the fort, but if not attacked by the enemy, they were at liberty to invade their territory. On his arrival at the fort, Rigaud learned that the English had made no movement and he decided to enter New England with 600 Canadians and 300 Indians. After a march of ten days he reached Fort Massachusetts on the Hoosic river in Berkshire county. The garrison surrendered after a day's siege and the country was laid waste for a distance of thirty-six miles on both banks of the river below. Rigaud was slightly wounded in the arm himself, but did not lose a single man in the expedition.

In describing to the minister the military operations of this year, the governor and intendant rendered entire justice to the good will and courage of the Canadian militia. "We have reason to hope," they wrote, "that as long as the English have no regular troops to put into the field, the Canadians will never think of yielding. In their manner of making war they seem to have lost none of their ancient courage."

Shortly afterwards the Mohawks took up arms and committed depredations at Soulanges and Isle Lamotte. On the 8th of March, the governor-general formally declared war against them at a council held at Montreal, attended by the Iroquois residing in the province. Indians were despatched in small parties of eight and ten to harass the settlements on the Connecticut and Hudson rivers. A small party of French was surprised near Fort Saint-Frederic by a party of Indians and several of them killed. Hostile Indians raided the settlements at Chateauguay, and Isle Perrot, and even pillaged some houses on the island of Montreal. The Hurons of Sandusky also became hostile and killed several traders. Every effort was necessary to preserve French ascendancy in the west. The expenses of the colony were greatly increased and provoked severe adverse criticism on the part of the minister. In justification the intendant reported that "His orders were not to remain merely on the defensive but to act offensively; they have been executed; our success proves it. The incursions of our Canadians and Indians on the enemy's territory have been carried on incessantly Our frontiers have been well guarded and our settlements protected, while the enemy's frontiers are deserted and their inhabitants overcome with terror. The royal arms have met with no defeat Prudence required that the public magazines should be well filled with provisions, stores, and munitions to ensure the success of any operations which might become necessary in the event of an invasion."

Hostilities were finally terminated by an inconclusive treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which all conquests made during the war were restored.

The trade of the colony had not suffered materially during this period and the demands upon the militia had not been excessively severe. Three years after the conclusion of peace, a body of troops and a supply of munitions was sent out from France to place the country in a better state of defence. Two small forts had been built during the war, on Lake Ontario, one at la Presentation, now known as Ogdensburg, and the other at Toronto, which confirmed the French supremacy on that lake.

The memorable expedition which left Lachine on the 15th of June, 1749, under the command of Celoron de Blainville to take possession of the Ohio Valley was mainly

composed of volunteers from the Canadian militia. It consisted of twenty colonial soldiers, 180 Canadians, 30 Iroquois and 25 Abenakis. Crossing the portage from Lake Erie to Lake Chataqua, thence following Conewango Creek and the Allegany river, he reached the Ohio. A leaden plate was buried there and the royal arms attached to a tree and as he descended the river, similar plates were buried at the mouth of each of its principal tributaries until he arrived at the Great Miami, on the 19th September. Making his way overland to Detroit, he returned before winter set in to Montreal, having travelled nearly 3,600 miles in the course of his journey.

On the death of de la Jonquière in 1752, the Marquis Duquesne, another naval officer, was appointed governor. His first measure was to hold a general review of the troops and militia and issue orders for the improvement of their discipline.

The colonial troops were almost wholly officered by native Canadians. These were mostly sons of the noblesse or of former officers, a good many of whom entered the service as cadets. Large families were common among this class. M. de Repentigny who died in 1737, was the eldest of the family of twenty-two sons. It is also probable that a considerable number of Canadians actually served in the ranks, although the companies were nominally recruited in France.

The number of inhabitants liable for military duty was estimated at 13,000. Experience had proved, however, that not more than one-third of these could be withdrawn from their farms during seed time and harvest, without exposing the colony to great danger of famine. The new governor next determined to expel all English traders from the Ohio valley and planned to send early next year an expedition composed of 2,000 troops and militia, and the same number of Indians to occupy the country. One hundred large boats and 128 canoes were built at Quebec to carry the necessary provisions and stores, and sent on to Fort Frontenac. The advanced guard consisting of 300 Canadians went forward in the autumn of 1752 under the command of Marin, who had acquired great influence among the western Indians. Two magazines for provisions were built by him on the portage of Chataqua leading from Lake Erie to a tributary of the Ohio. Next spring a fort was built at Presqu' Ile, now Erie, another on the river au Bœuf, and a third near the mouth of the Wabash. By the construction of these forts he hoped to secure the communication between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. A party of English settlers, who were building a fort near the mouth of the Monongahela, was driven off and the captured post was immediately completed and enlarged. It was given the name of Fort Duquesne, in honour of the governor. A considerable garrison under the command of de Contrecoeur, an officer of the colonial troops and a member of a well known Canadian family, occupied this post during the winter 1753-4. Learning that a body of Virginians was building a fort on the Monongahela, some thirty miles distant, de Contrecoeur sent thirty men, all Canadians, under the command of de Jumonville, to warn them off French territory. A collision unfortunately took place in which de Jumonville and ten other Canadians were killed, another man was wounded and the remainder taken prisoners. A force of 600 troops and militia and 100 Indians commanded by de Villiers was promptly despatched against the English fort which surrendered after a short siege in which twelve of the garrison were killed and forty others wounded. Thus commenced the protracted struggle, afterwards known as the Seven Years' War.

Believing that war was then inevitable, both the English and the French governments decided to send out regular troops for the protection of their colonies. Two British regiments consisting of rather more than 1,000 men sailed from Cork in January 1755, and arrived safely in Virginia about the end of February. At the same time the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the two English colonies chiefly interested, were instructed to organize an equal force of militia to be employed in expelling the French from the valley of the Ohio.

Duquesne was notified by a despatch which he received in May that 4,000 regulars would be sent to his assistance and at the same time he learned that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of the former governor of that name and a native Canadian, had been appointed to succeed him. He published this information at once for the encouragement of the colonists and reported to the minister that he was satisfied that the Canadians "would do wonders" when employed on operations in conjunction with regular troops. During the winter he had maintained garrisons in the forts on the Ohio consisting in all of nine officers, nineteen cadets, 437 militia and soldiers and 200 Canadian Indians, of whom more than half were stationed at Fort Duquesne. Early in March, he despatched a detachment of soldiers and artillery with six guns to Fort Frontenac with instructions to proceed to Niagara as soon as navigation was open and

thence to Fort Duquesne. In April and May, three brigades of boats followed, loaded with provisions and supplies for nearly a year, besides several small parties of militia and Indians. On receiving information shortly afterwards that troops were being assembled and ships being built at Oswego, de Villiers was sent to Niagara with a body of 200 militia and seventy Canadian Indians to remain there in observation and repel any sudden attack on that post. The total strength of the reinforcements thus sent to the west up to the 25th of June, 1755, was officially reported to amount to 817 militia and soldiers, and 170 Indians. At the same time, small pensions were granted to the widows of the militia who had been killed or had died of disease in service and to eighteen *habitans* who had been maimed in the siege of the English fort on the Monongahela. Duquesne assured the minister that such pensions properly distributed would greatly encourage the militia in the performance of their duty. The list enclosed indicates that pensions were granted to fifty-six persons, mostly women, in sums varying from seventy-two to 600 livres, amounting in all to 9,982 livres.

The French fleet bearing troops and supplies consisted of fourteen sail. In its passage two frigates separated from the remainder and fell in with an English squadron off the coast of Newfoundland. Although war had not been declared, an action followed, in which both the French vessels were taken. M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, a brother of the new governor and a number of officers with eight companies of troops were made prisoners on these ships, thus considerably reducing the force intended for the defence of Canada. The remainder arrived safely at Quebec towards the end of June, 1755. Writing from Montreal on the 24th of July, de Vaudreuil announced his intention of attacking the English post at Oswego. He had already assembled for that purpose a force of 4,300 men, composed of 2,000 regulars, 1,800 militia and 500 Canadian Indians, all of whom seemed to be in the highest spirits. The movement to Fort Frontenac began in small brigades, and two battalions of the regulars with three or four hundred militia had already reached that place, when the Baron de Dieskau, a Saxon officer who was in chief command, learned that an English force had made its appearance near Lake Saint-Sacrement, now Lake George, with an evident intention of attacking Fort Saint-Frederic, and perhaps invading the district of Montreal while the French were besieging Oswego. A council of war decided to abandon the proposed expedition, recall the troops from Fort Frontenac, and go to the relief of the menaced post. On his arrival at Fort Saint-Frederic, Dieskau learned that the enemy had entrenched themselves at some distance and was apparently waiting reinforcements. He had then at his disposal, eighteen companies of regular troops, 1,600 militia and 600 Indians under the orders of Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre who possessed extraordinary influence over them. While advancing towards the English camp, which had received the name of Fort Lydius, with a select body of men consisting of 200 soldiers and 600 militia and as many Indians, he encountered a column of 800 New England militia and 200 Indians, who were marching to its relief. This force was at once attacked and dispersed with heavy loss but Saint-Pierre was killed in the action with several other Canadians and Indians. His success encouraged Dieskau to make an ill-considered attack upon the English camp which was easily repelled. Dieskau and his aide-de-camp and two militia officers, La Coste and Gaucher-Gamelin, were severely wounded and taken prisoners; Captain de Longueuil was reported missing. In addition to the officers already named, the loss of the French in both actions amounted to one officer and twenty-six regular soldiers, ensign Du Sable and seven soldiers of the colonial troops, twenty-five militia and thirty-three Indians killed, besides one officer and fifty regular soldiers, Captain Le Gardeur de Repentigny, Lieut. Le Gardeur de Montesson of the colonial troops, thirty-six militia and forty Indians wounded. Both de Vaudreuil and the intendant attributed this disaster mainly to the unfortunate haste displayed by Dieskau in rushing to the attack of a strongly fortified camp with one third of his force without sufficient reconnaissance. He had led the colonial troops in person to the assault and fell mortally wounded close to the foot of the abattis. Two Canadians who bravely attempted to remove him were both killed in the effort. The militia seemed seriously discouraged by their heavy losses on this occasion and complained that they had been hurried to the attack before they had time to regain their breath. In the month of June a force from Massachusetts succeeded in taking Forts Beausejour and Gaspereau, and overran the whole of the peninsula in the present province of New Brunswick, where the remnant of the Acadians had taken refuge. About 1,500 of them were disarmed.

On the other hand the expedition from Virginia directed against Fort Duquesne met with a crushing defeat after advancing within ten miles of that place. On learning that his post was threatened, de Contrecoeur, who was still in command, sent several

small parties of Indians with a few militiamen attached to each under a Canadian officer, to gain information and harass the enemy, giving the leaders strict orders to restrain the Indians from committing any acts of cruelty. This had considerably diminished the force at his command. On the 8th of July, two of these parties returned in haste with information that the English were steadily advancing in three columns, not more than eighteen miles away when last seen. Captain de Beaujeu of the colonial troops was ordered to march with every effective man in the garrison to waylay them. He went out at eight o'clock the following morning with seventy-two of the colonial troops, 146 militia and 637 Indians, among whom was the famous Pontiac. An ambush was prepared in a suitable position about nine miles from the fort at a place where the enemy would be obliged to approach by a very narrow path while climbing a steep hill from the valley of the river. De Beaujeu was killed at the third fire but ably replaced by Dumas, the second in command. The advancing column sustained great loss, and was soon thrown into irretrievable confusion. A great number of the fugitives were mercilessly slaughtered in the pursuit and others drowned in attempting to cross the river. Altogether, the loss of the English force was nearly 1,500 men among whom was Major-General Braddock, the commanding officer, who died of his wounds a few days afterwards. All of their artillery and about 500 horses fell into the hands of the victors who lost, besides their leader, only two officers, Lieut. Drouet de Carqueville, and Ensign Lanaudière de la Parade, three militiamen, two French soldiers and fifteen Indians killed. The wounded were Lieut. Leborgne, Ensign de Bailleul, Cadets Hertel de Sainte-Thérèse and de Montmedy and twelve Indians. In his report de Contrecoeur warmly praised the services of Dumas, and de Ligneris, and added "all the officers have distinguished themselves; the cadets have done marvels, likewise our soldiers."

In soliciting pensions of 150 livres each for the widows of de Saint-Pierre and de Beaujeu, the governor remarked that the death of the former was an irreparable loss. On the same day he reported the death of four colonial officers, the Baron de Longueuil, de Fonville, Marin and de Saint-Pierre, all of whom had received the cross of Saint-Louis in recognition of their services.

The colony, he remarked, was capable of great development but to accomplish this, peace must be restored. If all the farms were properly cultivated they could support as many people as the king could send out from France, but the inhabitants were tired out; those who had taken up lands in recent years had scarcely begun to till them when they had been commanded on military service in preference to many of their well-to-do able-bodied neighbours. The occupation of the Ohio country, he declared, was the direct cause of the ruin of these *habitants*. More of them had already died in that enterprise than would probably be lost in several years of active war. Many men had been drafted for this purpose without the least consideration for their circumstances and obliged to carry boxes and other heavy articles over portages in a manner very prejudicial to the good of the service.

About the same time the officer in charge of ordnance stores reported that he found great difficulty in providing the militia with proper arms as when they reported for service they usually came with their firearms in such a bad state of repair that he was obliged to issue others. The chief inconvenience which he noticed was the differences in the calibre of their weapons, and stated that when they received an issue of ammunition, three fourths of them were obliged to pare down the bullets with their knives to make them fit the barrels which could scarcely be done in the face of the enemy. He further reported that the militia preferred "*les fusils Tulle de chasse*," on account of their handiness. He therefore recommended that this type of weapon should be provided with a bayonet which he considered indispensable, both for offensive and defensive warfare, still he would not deprive them of the tomahawk or hatchet which was most useful when encamping in the woods. Powder horns were also required which should be made to contain a pound of powder each. Those received that year were found to be totally useless.

The governor also recommended the formation of ten additional companies of "troupes de la marine" for the service of the colony, and applied for the transfer of twelve Canadian officers from the force raised for the defence of Louisbourg, seven of whom were then actually employed in Canada, as they knew the country well and were experienced in irregular warfare. He had then been informed that two other regular battalions were under orders to proceed to Canada, and that the Marquis de Montcalm had been appointed to the command of all "troupes de terre" serving in the province. He protested very strongly against this appointment. It was not neces-

sary, he remarked to have a general office: in command of these battalions as they could be properly exercised and disciplined without him. No matter how brave he might be, he could not possibly know the country and perhaps would not be willing to follow the advice of his subordinates or might accept the views of ill-informed persons. War in Canada must be conducted in a very different manner from the way it was carried on in Europe. Much prudence was necessary and little trusted to luck as their force was small and losses could not be easily replaced. He based these remarks, he said, on the disastrous result of the campaign under Dieskau. The Canadians and Indians, he declared, would not act with the same confidence under the orders of a commander of the regular forces as under those of colonial officers.

As Vaudreuil was not only born in Canada, but had passed his youth in the colony, his sympathy with the inhabitants was very strong and apparent. Like many of his predecessors, he had served for years and attained high rank in the French navy. The colony was still under the control of the minister of marine, and it seemed only proper that the post of governor should generally be reserved for an officer of the navy.

His attention was soon directed to the better organization of the militia. Some years before, M. d'Eschambault the general agent of the *Compagnie des Indes* in Canada, had presented a plan for preparing proper rolls of the inhabitants of each parish, showing the number who were absent and those who could be called upon for service in case of emergency at any time. This plan had been successively endorsed by the two previous governors and forwarded to the minister of marine, but had not been acted upon. Vaudreuil now strongly recommended its adoption and the appointment of its author as colonel-general of all the militia, for which he considered him well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the inhabitants and great influence among them.

The minister replied in a letter dated the 15th March, 1756, informing him that Montcalm had been appointed commander in chief of the regular troops but under all circumstances, he would be subject to the governor's orders, and that Vaudreuil would be at liberty to bestow the command of the militia on him, or confer it upon some other officer. A copy of the instructions to the new commander were enclosed in this letter. Vaudreuil soon responded by remarking that the militia was the most numerous force at his disposal, and had been so harassed of late, that if they were not treated with tact they would become discontented. If the command of the militia was placed in the hands of Montcalm, he must also have its entire administration, and, as in regard to police service, the captains of militia were already under the control of the intendant, he considered it would be unwise to subject them to the authority of a third officer. Secondly, he feared that the influence of a few intriguing persons in the colony might induce Montcalm to exercise despotic power but he assured the minister that whenever he found it necessary to undertake any military operations which would require the co-operation of the colonial forces, he would give the command of the militia to Montcalm; otherwise he considered that he should only have control of the regular troops.

In pursuance of the policy already adopted by Duquesne, Vaudreuil attempted to protect the colony by a succession of small offensive operations. Learning from the Indians that a chain of forts had been established connecting Albany with Oswego, he ordered Lieut. de Lery, with a party of ninety-three colonial troops, 166 militia and eighty-two Indians to strike a blow at this line of communication. De Lery marched from Montreal on the 17th March on the ice and after reaching Fort de la Presentation, advanced by Indian paths through the woods against Fort Bull, near Lake Oneida the most advanced depot for stores on their way to Oswego. This place was defended by only ninety men and was taken inside of an hour. It was destroyed at once and a large quantity of provisions carried away to Montreal, where there was great want of them at that time. The inhabitants of Quebec had been compelled to have recourse to horse flesh, and the allowance of bread had been reduced to one-half pound per day. The lack of provisions alone prevented Vaudreuil from attempting to put into execution his favourite plan of an attack upon Oswego where it was reported ships were being built to contest his naval supremacy on Lake Ontario. Early in April, de Villiers was ordered to observe that fort with a force of 800 men. He selected a suitable position on the shore of Lake Ontario, near the mouth of Sandy Creek, where he formed an entrenched camp and sent out parties to interrupt the communication between Oswego and the Mohawk Valley. Similar small parties had been sent out from Montreal at intervals during the whole winter, but as scarcely any snow had fallen, it was impossible to make use of snow shoes, and their movements

were much impeded in consequence. In the Ohio Valley, on the contrary, the winter was more severe than ordinary, and Dumas who had succeeded to the command of Fort Duquesne, kept the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania in a perpetual state of alarm with small war parties of Indians and Canadians, who received strict instructions to avoid the commission of any act of cruelty, which however they did not always obey. He was reinforced with three hundred militiamen, who with the garrison and the militia from the settlement at Detroit, would form in case of emergency, a force numbering between twelve and fifteen hundred men.

For the better protection of Fort Saint-Frederic, Vaudreuil had formed an entrenched camp at Carillon or Ticonderoga shortly after Dieskau's defeat. At the end of May, this was occupied by two regular battalions with colonial troops, Canadians and Indians, amounting to about 2000 men. One regular battalion was sent to Niagara, and two others to Fort Frontenac. Such was the military situation when Montcalm arrived at Quebec, accompanied by several staff officers and bringing with him two other battalions of regular troops. His first impressions of the Canadian militia were not favourable, and he took small pains to conceal them. "The Canadian militia" he wrote, "have no idea of discipline or subordination; I will make grenadiers of them in six months and take good care not to make the same mistake as the unfortunate Mr. Dieskau by listening too much to the boastful talk of the Canadians who think themselves in every respect the first nation in the world." Another officer of high rank Major-General de Montreuil, in a private letter bitterly remarked the "the Canadian is insubordinate, bad, deceitful, boastful, unsuited for regular warfare, very brave behind a tree and very timid when in the open." The mutual jealousy and suspicion which existed between the regular troops and the militia was very marked and continued to increase from this time on. It was destined to have injurious consequences before the end of the war.

On the other hand, the Canadians conceived a certain contempt for the French regular troops as they observed that they had not been trained for war in the woods, and could not endure the hardships to which they were necessarily subjected. The newly arrived French officers could not accustom themselves to live like soldiers among soldiers.

Preparations for the siege of Oswego were well under way before Montcalm arrived at Montreal. Artillery, munitions, and supplies were collected at that place and boats prepared for their transport. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the brother of the governor, had been exchanged and arrived in the same squadron with the new commander in chief. He was appointed governor of Three Rivers and sent forward to command the advanced post, established by de Villiers at Sandy Creek taking with him another strong detachment of colonial troops and Indians. The commandant at Fort Frontenac received orders to make further preparations and an engineer officer with a party of Canadians and Indians was sent to reconnoitre the English fort. Two armed vessels fitted out at Fort Frontenac were manned by colonial troops and militia under the command of Lieuts. Laforce and de la Broquerie. They succeeded in destroying some small English vessels and boats and blockaded the remainder at Oswego in such a way as to protect the French force in their movements by water. A series of parties of Canadian and Indian scouts were sent into the Mohawk valley to intercept despatches and cut off all small convoys. Early in the year it was ascertained that a large force was being collected in the vicinity of Albany, presumably for the attack of the French posts on Lakes George and Champlain, and the invasion of the district of Montreal. At the end of June, Montcalm visited Ticonderoga and made further arrangements for its defence. Leaving a garrison of 3,000 men, a large part of whom were militia, for the defence of that frontier, he returned to Montreal and went on with little delay to Fort Frontenac, where the greater portion of the force designed to attack Oswego had already assembled. It was composed of three battalions of regular troops, numbering about 1,300 men, and 1,200 militia besides some colonial troops, and Indians, who were transported across the lake in small boats and concentrated on the shores of the bay now known as Sackett's Harbour. The advanced corps under Rigaud was at once sent forward to invest the English fort and interrupt its line of communication. The siege lasted only four days when, the commandant having been killed, the garrison capitulated.

This was a victory of the highest importance. Besides a garrison of more than 1,600 men, including two regular battalions which became prisoners of war, all the English shipping on Lake Ontario and a great quantity of stores, provisions and munitions of war were taken. The loss of the French in the siege had been very small not exceeding thirty killed or wounded. The navigation of Lake Ontario by the French was thus secured from attack. All the plans for the invasion of Canada, as

well as that for the attack of Fort Duquesne, were abandoned. Rigaud was commended highly for leading his troops across a ford in the river under fire, where the water was up to their waists, and thus completing the investment of the fort. In his official report the governor complained of Montcalm's partiality for the regular troops and asserted that the engineers and other officers of the French regiments considered it inadvisable to imperil the artillery by placing it in the siege batteries, while Rigaud and the Canadian officers generally, strongly upheld a contrary view and urged that it was necessary to reduce the fort as quickly as possible. Their success on this occasion, he said, was due to this fact and the determined spirit of the Canadians. On the other hand Montcalm wrote that he had employed the militia usefully, but not on such service as would expose them to the fire of the enemy. A regular officer whom he had detailed to organize them for service after their arrival at Fort Frontenac, relates that this was a most difficult task as they had arrived there without officers, arms, or nominal rolls, and almost naked. He was obliged to form them into squads, select leaders for these, inspect their arms, prepare nominal rolls by parishes and companies, and arrange for their embarkation. The French engineer officer noted in his journal that all the Canadian officers, without exception, considered that the capture of the place would be the easiest thing in the world, and could not see the difficulties which were so apparent to him and others. The intendant asserted that if the governor had not been so firm in his commands for besieging Oswego, it would still be in the hands of the English, and that the regular officers did not realize what the presence of the Indians and the bravery of the Canadians could accomplish. The breach between the colonial and regular troops had evidently grown wider.

However, the victory was naturally the subject of great and general rejoicing in Canada. Exuberant ballads were written on the subject and the chief credit of the event was given to Vaudreuil by these writers, while Montcalm was relegated to the second place.

The fort was at once destroyed, the captured stores and provisions removed, and before the end of August, the militia was busy with the harvest. Those retained on duty at the posts near Lake Champlain, were incorporated with the colonial troops in six large companies. Scouting parties were sent out from time to time to reconnoitre the English posts and obtain information.

The harvest in the district of Quebec was almost a total failure, and the crop of wheat was scanty everywhere. The sufferings of the poorer people were consequently very severe.

Early in the preceding summer a strong detachment of colonial troops and militia had been ordered to enter the valley of the river St. John, harass the English garrisons in Acadia, and assist the inhabitants who had abandoned their settlements. This force had met with small success, and was compelled to return to Canada for want of supplies. Several hundred starving fugitives followed it and added to the general distress. The governor complained with considerable acrimony of ill-treatment of certain men of the militia by the regular officers under whom they had served. He stated that the Canadians were sometime obliged to carry these gentlemen on their shoulders through the icy water and that they were badly treated if they had the misfortune to make a misstep. Montcalm himself, he said, was of such a hasty temper that he had struck men in his anger. The Canadians, he added, had on every occasion given surprising proofs of their courage. They had done all the scouting and carried out the most fatiguing expeditions. They were obliged to take the worst of the provisions, while those of better quality were reserved for the regular troops. They had abandoned their farms and their families for the defence of the colony. They had exhausted their strength in rowing the boats for the transportation of troops and provisions for the armies and the garrisons. All this they had done without showing the least discontent. They were always ready for service and displayed wonderful good-will, but they had expressed their dissatisfaction to him, and nothing but their blind obedience to his commands had induced them to obey some orders which they had lately received. He added that while he was determined to act in perfect harmony with Montcalm, he would be obliged in the coming campaign to make the necessary arrangements to insure that the Canadians and Indians were treated with the consideration which their zeal and service merited. Montcalm also issued orders to prevent quarrels between the soldiers and the Canadians. When a dispute occurred it must be reported to the commander of the boat and, if necessary, to the commandant of the division. Soldiers must be required to wade in the water, row, haul, and carry stores indiscriminately with the Canadians leaving, however, to the latter the management of the boats, but rendering such assistance as was required of them.

As supplies were being collected and boats prepared at the entrenched camp on the shore of Lake George, the governor after conferring with Montcalm determined to send a strong detachment to attack it by surprise before the English forces could be concentrated there. His brother was selected for the command, having under him the Chevalier de Longueuil and Dumas, who had returned recently from Fort Duquesne. His force consisted of detachments of fifty chosen men from each of five regular battalions, 300 provincial troops, 650 militia and 400 Indians. These men were unusually well equipped for this expedition. Each soldier was supplied with a great-coat, a blanket, a coverlet, a woollen cap, two cotton shirts, a pair of breeches and drawers, a waistcoat, two pairs of buck skin moccasins, a dressed buck skin, two pairs of mittens, two skeins of thread, six needles, an awl, a tinder-box, six flints, a hunting knife, a comb, a worm for drawing charges, a hatchet, two hauling collars, a splinted and a pair of snowshoes, and each officer had in addition a bear-skin rug. The weather was unusually severe; much snow had fallen. The River St. Lawrence at Montreal was frozen over early in December, and continued passable for sledges until the 8th of April. The thermometer sometimes dropped as low as twenty-seven degrees below zero, and seldom rose above twelve or fifteen below. After a march of nearly 200 miles in this weather, during which they were constantly compelled to encamp in the woods, Rigaud's force arrived in the vicinity of Fort George, or Fort William Henry, as it was then called, on the 17th of March. A brief reconnaissance satisfied him and the regular officers by whom he was accompanied, that a successful attack upon the fort was scarcely practicable. It was invested on the following night but the garrison was on the alert. All the buildings outside of the works were destroyed with three hundred boats, three small vessels, and a great quantity of provisions and firewood. Although disposed to criticize the organization of the expedition and resent the significant slight shown to him and the regular troops, Montcalm warmly praised the conduct of this detachment which he said had been obliged for six weeks to march and sleep on the snow and ice, living entirely upon bread and bacon, and frequently hauling or carrying on their backs provisions for fifteen days. The officers and soldiers of the regular troops had shown themselves not inferior in hardihood and endurance to the Canadians, with whom they were associated. Their success, he declared, was the more important to the colony as the enemy had been in a position to take the field before him. He confidently expected that their operations would now be much delayed and that the militia, who were farmers, as well as soldiers, would have ample time to complete their seeding without interruption.

During the spring every effort was made to collect a sufficient force with the necessary artillery and supplies for a regular siege of Fort William Henry. The western Indians were summoned for his assistance and arrived in June, numbering almost 1,000 warriors, some of whom had come a distance of from twelve to fifteen hundred miles. On the 10th of May, the advanced guard consisting of two regular battalions and about 1,000 militia went on to Lake Champlain and encamped at Ticonderoga. The fleet expected from France did not arrive until the 3rd of July, but then brought with it another battalion of regulars and a large quantity of much needed supplies. Orders were at once issued for the concentration of the whole available force at St. Jean, where supplies for the expedition had been already collected. On the 9th of July, Vaudreuil issued formal orders for the conduct of the campaign, in which he remarked that it would be necessary to permit the western Indians to return home and release the greater part of the militia to reap the harvest, about the end of August. A plan for the organization of the colonial troops into battalions and the militia into brigades was adopted. On the 29th of July, the most numerous army yet organized in Canada was assembled in three camps near Ticonderoga. It consisted of a detachment of artillery, numbering 188 of all ranks, with thirty-two guns and five mortars; six battalions of regular troops, in all 2,570; a battalion of colonial troops, 524; six brigades of militia and a battalion of volunteers, 3,470; Canadian Indians, 820; western Indians, 979. A few colonial soldiers were distributed in each of the brigades of militia, which were commanded by Captains de la Corne, de Vassan, de Saint Ours, de Repentigny, de Courtemanche, and de Gaspé, all of them being officers of the colonial forces. The volunteers were commanded by de Villiers. Sixty-six colonial officers and all the cadets were detailed for duty with the militia. The fort was invested and the artillery opened fire with considerable effect. A sortie from the garrison was repelled with considerable loss by de Villiers, and several messengers on their way from Fort Edward were intercepted with despatches, informing the commandant of the fort that he must not expect assistance from that place but was advised to make the best terms possible. These letters were sent into the garrison and on the seventh day of the siege, a white flag was hoisted and a treaty of capitulation arranged.

Like that at Oswego, this success was mainly due to the efficiency of the French artillery. The militia had worked hard and rendered efficient assistance in the transportation of the artillery and stores of all kinds and afterwards in the construction of the siege batteries. Otherwise, they had scarcely been engaged and their loss was small.

Some days before the actual surrender of the place, Vaudreuil had written a very urgent letter to Montcalm in which he expressed his hope that his messenger would find him already in front of Fort Lydius, or Fort Edward, the secondary base of the English force, assembling on that frontier, and representing how very important the capture of that post would be for the safety of the colony. "Nothing ought to hinder you in this operation" he wrote, "even should the Canadians not return in time for harvest, we shall not lack provisions." The reasons which caused Montcalm to decide against this proposal were briefly stated by him in a letter written on the 18th of August. The maintenance of so large a force had strained his supply service to the uttermost. The labor of hauling or carrying everything he needed over a portage of thirty miles was very great and would be much increased by a further advance. He had scarcely any draft animals for this work. His men were already almost exhausted by fatigue and poor food. Scarcity of provisions and munitions was severely felt. The greater part of the militia were pardonably anxious to return for the harvest which was already ripening. All the Indians from the "upper country" had abandoned him as well as most of those from Canada. His engineer noted in his journal the utmost importance of releasing all the Canadian militia to gather their crops.

Writing to Montcalm two days later, the intendant approved his decision saying that even had he undertaken the siege of Fort Edward and made the garrison prisoners, he would have had great difficulty in feeding them. He feared that the harvest in the district of Montreal would have been lost had he retained the *habitans* longer. Sufficient provisions for the enterprise had not been forwarded to Ticonderoga and he could have supplied the army on Lake George beyond the end of the month of August. The task of subsisting so large a force for forty days was extremely difficult at a time when the colony was practically without bread. Yet ten days later he calmly informed the minister of marine that it was the general opinion that M. de Montcalm should have undertaken the siege of Fort Lydius immediately after the capture of Fort George. The governor also criticized his decision very strongly in a letter to the same minister, asserting that there was no lack of provisions and that he had to advance but six leagues over very good roads and it seemed certain that the surrender of the first fort would have brought about that of the second. At any rate he had every reason to hope for success and his retreat was secure.

The greater part of the militia were accordingly dismissed to their homes for harvesting. Unfortunately for them the weather suddenly changed and became unusually unfavourable. The country was deluged with rain for many days in succession. On the 27th of August, the intendant wrote that while all their military operations had been successful, the harvest would be a dead failure. It had promised well until the last two or three weeks, during which there had been constant rain and frost and the wheat had turned rusty. The price of provisions rose in consequence to a frightful degree and the sufferings of the people were greater than ever through scarcity.

The allowance of bread in Quebec was first reduced to four, and finally to two ounces per person. Meat was scarcely procurable at any price. On the 18th September, 1757, Montcalm wrote that through absolute want the inhabitants had been placed upon a quarter ration of bread. He had little powder and no shoes. The supplies expected from France had all been intercepted; more must be shipped by the beginning of March.

Although the greater part of the militia on service with his army had been discharged, the number retained in garrison at the western posts and elsewhere, and otherwise employed in transporting supplies was very large but cannot be precisely stated. The demands made upon them for the maintenance of roads and bridges and fortifications were likewise very harassing.

Prompted by repeated complaints from the governor, the ministers warned Montcalm that the greatest pains should be taken to treat the militia tactfully and make the best use of their zeal, courage, and good will. Firmness, no doubt was necessary in dealing with them, but it should be tempered with kindness. Montcalm replied rather tartly that no one could be disposed to give the Canadians more credit for their courage than he and his soldiers, but a people evidently so prone to brag were inclined to magnify their own exploits. He would never have the mistaken confidence

in them shown by the unfortunate Dieskau, but would employ them in their own way and endeavour to utilize their valour by taking advantage of the woods and the backing of the regular troops by which title he was careful to say he meant not only the *troupes de Terre*, but also *troupes de la Marine*, for whom he had equal respect.

In England, Pitt had become the head of a new administration. During the winter he made most energetic and careful preparations for the coming campaign. Twelve thousand regular troops were embarked for America and three provinces of New England alone agreed to raise 15,000 men. Louisbourg was besieged and taken in June. An army of 12,000 men was soon assembled at Albany to invade Canada. To meet this formidable force, seven battalions of regular troops were posted at Ticonderoga and orders issued for the assembly at short notice of the militia of the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers. The advance of the English army was made with more speed than had been expected. Montcalm seems to have been taken by surprise, before his disposable force was wholly collected. His advanced posts were withdrawn into his entrenched camp which was strongly protected by an abattis of heavy timber and rampart of logs, so well constructed as to be practically impenetrable. Here he awaited the attack. His total force was less than 5,000 of all ranks; of whom 3,500 were *troupes de Terre*, 326 soldiers of the *marine*, 844 militia and forty Indians. Shortly after the beginning of the action, a timely reinforcement arrived of eighty colonial troops and 273 militia. Repeated assaults were made during three hours. All were repelled with heavy loss. Montcalm warmly praised the conduct of all his force. "The colonial troops and Canadians" he wrote, "made us regret that he had not more of them." He particularly mentioned three Canadian officers, de Saint Ours, Lanaudière and Gaspé, who had conducted a successful sortie from their entrenchments. The total loss of the assailants was almost 2,000, while that of the French was less than 400, among them a very small number of the militia to whom, however, the local balladists again ascribed the principal credit of the victory.

There was no pursuit, as Montcalm was again obliged to release his militia on harvest leave and even permit some of his regular troops to assist them. In a letter to his mother, he complained bitterly that he could only carry on a campaign with inferior forces for six weeks at a stretch, and was then obliged to dismiss half of his troops for the harvest "Will I never be put at the head of an army in Europe," he exclaimed, "where such obstacles are not encountered."

Whilst still rejoicing over this amazing success and the subsequent retreat of the English army to its base on Lake George, a disconcerting blow fell in an unguarded quarter. A strong brigade of troops under Colonel John Bradstreet, advancing rapidly from Albany, re-occupied Oswego, and then crossing the lake, captured Fort Frontenac with scarcely any resistance as the garrison did not exceed one hundred men. Seventy-six guns and the whole of the French armed vessels on the lake were taken besides a large quantity of provisions and stores deposited there for the supply of the upper posts. The enemy thus became masters of Lake Ontario, and were in a position to interrupt all communication by that route with the western country.

Another strong force advancing from Philadelphia, approached Fort Duquesne. Militia, not only from Canada, but also from Detroit and the Illinois and even the district colony of Louisiana, had been assembled for its defence. Its advanced guard was attacked and beaten back with heavy loss by a small body of colonial troops, militia, and Indians, commanded by de Bellestre and de Saint Ours. Undismayed by this check, the English force still steadily advanced, and on the 28th of November, Fort Duquesne was finally evacuated and dismantled. These reverses caused great dismay. Montcalm dismally informed the minister of war that the situation of the colony was most critical, and that it would be necessary to treat for peace. The English had, he believed, 30,000 troops at their disposal for the invasion of Canada. To oppose them he had only eight battalions and 1,200 colonial troops, exclusive of those on the Ohio. Three thousand militia might be embodied for the whole campaign but not more than 1,200 had been in service that year. Although suitable for expeditions, they could not be retained under arms for five months together. "I write the truth as a citizen," he added, "determined to bury myself under the ruins of the colony." He made an urgent demand for two thousand trained soldiers and six battalions of recruits before the campaign opened.

The harvest again had been scanty. The *habitans* had been allowed little time to attend to it as in many cases only the women and old men remained on the farms while all males, except the boys and men above sixty years of age were inexorably called to the frontier or employed on the public works and in the transportation of stores. A contemporary memoir prepared by a well informed official, relates

that the youth of the country were fairly exhausted by the toil of military expeditions and water transport. Their patriotism and zeal had indeed long sustained them, but they were becoming worn out by their efforts. The most essential matter in future was economy in the employment of men. Demands upon the militia should be made with impartiality, good sense, and justice. All unnecessary services must be dispensed with, and boys should not be called into service as had occasionally occurred in the past. Although he estimated the number of men fit for military service at 15,000, he stated that the garrisons at the upper posts, the transportation of stores for them and for trade with the Indians employed at least 4,000 men every year. The towns-people were suffering from actual want. Many of them had to stand for hours at the baker's door to obtain their daily bread. Seed grain was lacking and all supplies from Europe were cut off by the enemy's fleet. The inhabitants were also disgusted by the monopoly of trade and speculation by officials, which had become well-known and was possibly exaggerated. The maintenance of thousands of Indians had caused great waste. The colony was no longer able to feed its inhabitants and the price of many necessary articles was so high that they were beyond the reach of the majority.

The dissensions between the colonists and the regular troops had become acute. The antipathy formerly existing was rapidly developing into positive hostility. The officers of the colonial troops scarcely concealed their jealousy and suspicion of the French. They had been accustomed to make war in the Indian fashion and could not believe that it could be conducted in any other way. Bougainville, an impartial critic, sadly noted in his journal that although the Canadians and French were of the same race and had the same interests and political and religious principles, they were yet unable to agree in the face of the gravest peril. They seemed to be two antagonistic bodies which could never coalesce. He was inclined to believe that some of the Canadians even wished for their defeat, hoping that the whole blame would fall upon the French. As a remedy, Montcalm proposed a measure to the governor which he believed would greatly strengthen his force. It was an accurate census of all men fit for service in the militia. They were to be divided into three classes, good, indifferent, and poor. This he believed would insure the exemption of the number of men actually required for seeding and harvest, presuming that in an emergency, the women in the country and the idle men in the town would be employed in the same work. All those who were not actually needed on the farms would then be required to serve during the whole campaign which would amount to about 4,000 selected from the best marksmen. These would be incorporated among the regulars and the colonial troops in the following manner: with the regulars, fifteen per company; with the colonial troops a number equal to the soldiers already in each company. The great advantage of this step, he said, would be that each company of regulars and fenciblese would have with it and within it, a number of good shots, good boatmen, and good artificers and the emulation between the soldiers and the Canadians would act as a spur to cause them to behave well and instruct others; it would remedy the evident deficiency of suitable officers for the command of the militia. He assured the governor that the militia need not fear any improper treatment as they were on friendly terms with the soldiers. If there was the least complaint he would undertake to remedy it and prevent its recurrence. This proposal would provide for about 3,000 select militia. The remainder would serve under the command of selected militia officers who would be stimulated by the hope of distinction. They should be provided with the same clothing and equipment, and receive the same pay and medical treatment as the regular troops. The number drafted for this service must be rigidly inspected to prevent the best men in the colony being employed in the transport service and to prevent too great a number of the militia being detached to the upper posts. The census would also show what additional number of the militia would be available for service in case of emergency. The character of the war, he said, had entirely changed. Formerly the Canadians had conducted their operations like hunting expeditions; now a campaign continued for several months.

Bougainville was sent to France to advocate this proposal and as a last desperate resort to suggest a retreat to Louisiana by way of the lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The minister should be requested to instruct the governor to prepare beforehand the necessary canoes for the transportation of 1,600 chosen troops and 800 Canadian militia, with the necessary arms, provisions and stores. If the Ohio route was blocked by the English, he would go by the way of Illinois. Even if the enemy were in possession of Quebec and St. Jean, four days start and orders on the treasury payable in Louisiana were all that he required.

Vaudreuil readily approved of the census which was quickly taken and showed a total of 7,511 militiamen in the district of Quebec, 1,313 in that of Three Rivers and 6,406 in that of Montreal, in the whole a nominal force of 15,299 men. A proclamation was addressed by the governor to the captains of militia requiring them to hold in readiness to march all fit men of their companies with their arms and cooking utensils, and twelve days provisions for which they would be paid after the campaign. Only one officer per company was to remain with the old, the weak and sick. This campaign, he added, will give the Canadians a great opportunity of distinction; the confidence I have in them is not unknown to His Majesty, whom I have constantly kept informed of their services; thus he expects that they will make every effort which he can hope for from his most faithful subjects, particularly, as they are fighting for their religion, the protection of their women, their children and their property; to preserve themselves from the cruel treatment planned for them by the English; adding that the king had ordered his troops to fight to the last, he concluded, "for my part I am determined never to consent to any surrender, convinced of the dangerous consequences it would have for all Canadians; it is certain that it will be far better for them to be buried under the ruins of the colony with their wives and children."

At the same time the governor was actually requesting the removal of Montcalm from the command. "M. de Montcalm," he wrote, "may serve very usefully in Europe; no one does more justice than I do to his excellent qualities, but they are not adapted for a war in this country. It is necessary to have much gentleness and patience to command Canadians and Indians. The King, having entrusted the colony to me, I cannot refrain from pointing out the serious consequences which may be produced by the longer stay here of the Marquis de Montcalm." He opposed the proposal to incorporate the militia with the regular troops.

Montcalm had been informed that he should permit any soldiers, who were willing to take up land, to remain in Canada. With this view he encouraged them to marry in the colony. His efforts were so successful, that in April, 1759, he reported that, while in the winter of 1755-6, there had been only seven marriages of soldiers, in the winter just passed there were not less than eighty. He had promised these men their discharge when their battalions were ordered to return to France with the understanding that they were to settle upon and clear the land granted to them. He recommended that they should receive a small gratuity when the others were withdrawn "We will leave the greater part of our troops behind us. They will be excellent colonists and gallant defenders of New France." Doubtless he was well aware that he was carrying on the intelligent and patriotic policy inaugurated by the great intendant, Talon.

It had then become apparent that the town of Quebec would soon be the object of an attack. Measures were taken to protect it by the construction of new batteries and outworks. The first vessel that arrived from France brought a cyphered report from Bougainville, stating that the incorporation of the militia with the troops had been approved, but the plan of retreat to Louisiana "was admired but not accepted." The reorganization of the militia was consequently undertaken. One hundred and eight selected men, all good marksmen were added to each regular battalion. The colonial troops consisting of forty companies were increased in the same proportion. A cavalry force of 200 men was also recruited from militia men specially adapted for service in that arm. They were promised a gratuity, at the end of the campaign and permission to return to their homes before any others. This corps was completed by the middle of June and put under the command of one of Montcalm's aides-de-camp, who was a regular cavalry officer. The men were provided with a blue uniform with scarlet facings, while the officers wore a white uniform. Two thousand five hundred regulars and 200 Indians were sent to Ticonderoga for the defence of that frontier as soon as the spring opened. Another force of 1,500 colonial troops, militia and Indians was detailed for operations on the Ohio, and the defence of Niagara. Captain de la Corne, with an equal number of colonial troops and militia was directed to take a position near the head of the rapids on the St. Lawrence and keep Oswego under observation. The remaining troops were retained in quarters in the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, and the militia held in readiness to march wherever they were most needed. As there was a great scarcity of provisions, it was considered impossible to keep them together under arms. A general order, dated the 10th June, appointed de Ramezay commander of the garrison of Quebec which consisted of 600 local militia. The appearance of an English fleet in the river St. Lawrence brought both Montcalm and Vaudreuil to the defence of that place with five battalions of regular troops and the militia of other districts. A company of volunteer infantry

numbering 200 men was organized from the militia to act as sharpshooters. The force of militia then assembled for the defence of Quebec was by far the most numerous yet brought into the field. The Quebec brigade, consisting of 3,500 men under M. de Saint Ours, occupied the right of the camp; that of Three Rivers consisting of 880 under M. de Bonne same next; a brigade of 2,000 regulars occupied the centre and the militia from the district of Montreal numbering 2,300 under M. Herbin held the left of the line, according to an order of battle drawn up by M. de Levis. The reserve was composed of the cavalry, light troops and Indians. In addition, a strong detachment had been sent for observation to Saint Joachim, under M. de Repentigny, and another to the island of Orleans under M. de Courtemanche. When the whole of the militia was assembled, it is conjectured that the available force for the defence of the city was not less than 16,000 men of whom, however, only about 2,900 were regular troops. But this number was considerably diminished by desertions during the course of the siege. In a memorandum to Levis, and intended for his information only, Montcalm stated his force as consisting of five battalions of regulars, 2,900; the Three Rivers Militia, 1,100; the Montreal militia, 3,800; the Quebec militia, at most 3,000, making a total of 10,800. To this should be added the garrison of Quebec, the colonial troops and Indians. Of the militia, Montcalm reported, that perhaps four or five thousand were capable of good service, but that nearly half of them were old men and boys who had never before been on service but he began to think that they would do better than he had expected. It is related that boys of fourteen and old men of eighty were under arms at this time.

The inhabitants of the parishes on both banks of the river below, Kamouraska, Riviere-Ouelle, St. Anne, Malbaie, St. Roch, and Baie St. Paul, watched with dismay the slow movement of the immense English fleet as it ascended the river. The old men, women and children who remained at their homes almost alone, fled to the woods, driving before them their flocks and herds, and carrying off their most valuable household goods. Such were the orders of the governor.

On the 23rd of June a party of English officers who had landed for hunting were surprised by some militia and Indians under M. des Rivières and three of them cut off. The mounted volunteers and other detachments of lightly equipped militia were kept constantly on the move to maintain communication with Montreal and protect boats on the river bringing supplies from above. On the 12th of July, several siege batteries opened fire from the opposite side of the river and did much damage. A column was organized to attack them which was composed of 1,200 men, of whom only 100 were volunteers from the regular battalions, the remainder being mainly local militia including many pupils of the seminary. The river was scarcely crossed before signs of great nervousness was noticeable among these troops, although still at a distance of nearly three miles from the point of attack. During the march the young men from the seminary, in their excitement, opened fire upon their comrades. This mistake was twice repeated before they arrived in front of the enemy's works. The sight of a hostile force completed their demoralization and they were seized with uncontrollable panic. Dumas, who was in command, vainly endeavoured to stop their flight. Tumbling over each other in their haste, they regained their boats and returned in the morning to Quebec "overwhelmed with shame and despair." Their conduct on this occasion was held to justify the common saying "that one Canadian was worth three French soldiers in bush fighting; but in line of battle, one French soldier was equal to three Canadians fresh from their farms."

However, another small party commanded by Etienne Charest, captain of the militia and seignior of Lauzon, bravely resisted the landing of troops at that place and from the shelter of the church and the neighbouring rocks defended its position to the last. Several hundred commanded by de Repentigny and Duprat were subsequently engaged in the action at Beauport and successfully held their entrenchments on that occasion.

Their activity and inveterate hostility was soon summarily punished by the despatch of detachments of the invaders which mercilessly destroyed most of the villages below the town as far as Malbaie and Baie Saint Paul. In several of these, the church was the only building left standing. This cruel expedient had the effect of largely diminishing the force under Montcalm. Many of the militia received permission to go to the assistance of their homeless families and others deserted.

In the memorable action on the Plains of Abraham on the 13th of September, a considerable number of militia were mingled with the regular troops and distinguished themselves by their accurate marksmanship. Their decisive defeat on that occasion,

and the surrender of the town completed their discouragement. Hundreds returned to their homes. Some fifteen hundred who formed the main part of the garrison were included in the terms of capitulation, and on laying down their arms, were guaranteed protection for their families and property.

The militia from the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers retreated with the remnant of regular troops without having experienced much loss. The mounted volunteers who had been despatched after the battle, each man carrying a bag of biscuit across his saddle for the supply of the garrison of Quebec, arrived too late and were obliged to retire without having effected their object.

Depressing news had also come from the west. Fort Niagara had been invested by a superior force. All the colony troops, militia and Indians who could be gathered for that purpose at the western posts, numbering 1,300, of whom only 200 were Indians, had come to its relief and been decisively defeated with heavy loss. De Ligneris, Montigny, Villiers, the younger Marin, and a dozen other officers with several cadets were taken prisoners. Those who escaped, retreated hastily, destroyed the small posts at Presquile, Le Boeuf and Venango, and retired to Detroit. The garrison of Niagara at once surrendered. All the posts on Lake Ontario and the last foothold in the Ohio Valley had been lost.

Saint-Luc de la Corne had marched against Oswego with nearly 1,000 militia strengthened by the infusion of a few colonial officers and soldiers, and a small body of Canadian Indians. That fort was not strongly garrisoned and might have been taken by assault. Once more the militia were seized by a panic and ran to their boats, overturning in their flight Abbé Picquart, their militant chaplain, who had endeavoured to restrain them. They were rallied and again advanced and a brisk skirmish followed in which the assailants lost about thirty killed and wounded, among the latter, la Corne and two other officers. On the following day he retired to an islet in the St. Lawrence at the head of the rapids where fortifications were constructed, afterwards known as Fort Levis.

Ticonderoga and Fort Saint-Frederic had been abandoned and destroyed and their garrisons withdrawn to Isle-aux-Noix, which became the advanced post on that frontier. Winter came and brought military operations to a close. The prospect for the future seemed all but hopeless. The outposts and forts at Montreal were garrisoned by regular troops and the remainder quartered as usual on the inhabitants, much to their discomfort. The militia were permitted to return to their homes subject to a call to arms at any time. The want of provisions soon became most alarming and as a last resort, d'Eschambault was required by the government to exert his influence in persuading the inhabitants to surrender some part of their hidden stores. He fervently appealed to them in the name of their parents, their brethren and their children, who were sacrificing themselves to preserve their liberty and rescue them from the fury of an implacable enemy. His efforts were fairly successful, and as public funds were not to be had, he paid for a large part of these supplies with his own money and whatever he could borrow from his intimate friends. This patriotic service caused his financial ruin. Although he advanced the large sum of 238,662 livres for the purchase of supplies, he was only repaid the trifling amount of 11,453 livres and was consequently forced to sell his property at a low price to repay his friends.

As reliable information had been received that the English garrison of Quebec was greatly weakened by disease and want of proper supplies, the governor and Levis who had succeeded Montcalm in command of the regular troops determined to make an attack upon it with all the force they could muster before relief could arrive. A circular letter from Vaudreuil addressed to the captains of militia on the 16th of April, 1760, ordered every man fit to bear arms to join the army at once under pain of death in case of disobedience. With the exception of the mounted volunteers and two battalions of town militia in Montreal, it was decided to embody the remainder entirely among the colonial troops and the regular battalions of the line. The proportion of militia thus incorporated among the regulars was much larger than ever before. The distribution under the new arrangement is shown in the following tabular statement:

Brigade.	Regiment or Corps.	COMBATANTS.				NON-COMBATANTS.				Grand total
		Officers	Soldiers	Militia	Total	Train	Servants	Surgeons	Total	
La Reine	(La Reine	27	370	223	620	10	27	1	38	658
	(Languedoc	14	280	285	579	..	14	1	15	594
La Sarre	(La Sarre	24	339	230	593	..	21	1	22	615
	(Bearn	24	371	221	616	5	27	1	33	649
Royal Roussillon	(Royal Roussillon	24	305	279	608	4	8	1	13	621
	(Guyenne	22	320	261	603	5	23	1	29	632
Berry	2 Battalions	51	727	519	1297	9	50	2	61	1358
Marine	2 Battalions	80	898	246	1224	..	75	4	79	1303
	Cavalry	5	..	200	205	..	2	1	3	208
	Indians	8	..	270	278	..	..	..	..	278
Out of the line (sic)	Militia Battalions of Montreal.	..	..	278	287	..	56	3	59	346

In one battalion it will be observed that the militia slightly outnumbered the regulars.

A well contested battle of Sainte-Foy, under the walls of Quebec, resulted in the defeat of the garrison with heavy loss. Captains St. Martin, and Denis de la Ronde, Lieuts. Corbière and de Varennes, Ensign de Boucherville, senior, of the colonial troops, and Commandant Rheume and Capt. Lefebvre of the militia were killed in this battle, and Lts. Gamelin, Delisle and Provost were wounded. Lieut. de Meloises of the colony troops and Capt. A. De Bonne of the militia were killed in the subsequent operations. The siege lasted until the 9th of May, when the place was relieved by the arrival of an English squadron. Levis then retreated with the intentions of resisting the advance of the invaders up the river and also opposing the forces closing in upon the doomed colony from other directions. Detachments of militia under capable Colonial officers were stationed at several favourable points on the St. Lawrence below Three Rivers with orders to follow the movements of the English fleet as it advanced.

A proclamation by General Murray, promising protection to all the militia who remained peacefully at their homes and threatening to burn every house from which the men of the family were absent, had great effect. This was practically exemplified by the entire destruction of a small village near Sorel, and the kindness shown to all those who returned to their families. Vaudreuil was soon forced to publish a counter proclamation threatening all militiamen who deserted or laid down their arms with pain of death and ordering the destruction of the houses of all those who neglected to join his army. As he no longer had the power of enforcing his threats they were generally disregarded. The colony troops, and even the regulars, also began to desert. His Indian allies too, went over to the enemy in a body. On the 8th of September a treaty of capitulation was signed by which Canada and all its dependencies were surrendered. All French officers, officials, regular troops and sailors were offered a passage to France in British ships and all other persons who wished to remove to that country were granted the same privilege. Those who remained were guaranteed their property, rights, and privileges. The married soldiers were discharged with the option of remaining in Canada or returning to France and all colonial soldiers were apparently allowed the same choice. In a return of those who were discharged in France, only thirty-four companies were mentioned. Nearly all were commanded by officers bearing the names of old colonial families. It seems fair to infer that all the surviving men of the other six had elected to remain in Canada. Two companies were each represented by a single man, another by two men, still another by three, one by five, and three by eight each. Six companies only, returned more than twenty

men each to France. Probably one half of the colonial troops remained and settled in Canada. Of the officers, sixteen captains, fourteen lieutenants and twenty-seven ensigns remained in Canada. The officers who returned to France were granted halfpay for a limited period to enable them to live comfortably, as few had any relatives or acquaintances in their mother country. Many had received wounds in the service, and most of these were recommended for the cross of Saint-Louis. A number subsequently returned to Canada while on the other hand, some of those who remained behind removed to France.

During all the vicissitudes and trials of this long struggle, the mass of the Canadian people had continued inalterably loyal to their government and by their fidelity, had contributed greatly to the prolonged defence of the country. Their devotion to their flag, and patient endurance of hardships and privations evoked a well deserved tribute of admiration from their adversaries.

CHAPTER II.

THE MILITIA OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, 1763-1775.

By the terms of the treaty of capitulation for the surrender of Montreal, the whole of the Canadian militia was included among the prisoners of war. It was officially reported to consist of eighty-seven companies in the government of Montreal, numbering 7,331 men; nineteen companies in the government of Three Rivers having a strength of 1,150 men and sixty-four companies in the government of Quebec, containing 7,976 men. On the 19th of September, 1760, General Amherst directed Col. Haldimand to assemble the militia of the town of Montreal and require them to surrender their arms. When this was done, they were informed that if they took the oath of allegiance their arms would either be restored to them or deposited for safety in an armoury. Measures were subsequently taken to disarm the militia in the other districts, but in many cases in the rural settlements where the commissioners certified the pacific behaviour of the inhabitants, every resident who agreed to certain conditions, was permitted to retain one fowling piece for hunting purposes. The resignation of the officers was also required but the majority were at once reappointed, receiving a commission or letter of service from the new authorities. A military government was established with its headquarters at Quebec.

The former division of the colony into three districts or governments was continued. Major-General James Murray was appointed governor of Quebec, and commander of the forces of Canada. Major-General Thomas Gage became governor of the district of Montreal and Colonel Ralph Burton, governor of Three Rivers. The inhabitants generally seemed disposed to accept the change of government with equanimity, comforting themselves with the reflection that it was the fortune of war. The captains of militia in the several parishes continued to exercise the judicial functions of justice of the peace. In the district of Quebec, General Murray formed a court of regular officers to conduct the trial of more important criminal and civil cases. This court sat every two weeks. From its decisions the defendant had the right of appeal to the governor himself. Two distinguished Canadians were associated with it; Jacques Belcourt de Lafontaine, formerly a member of the supreme council of the province, was appointed public procurator and commissioner to act with this tribunal in the trial of all suits brought from the country on the right bank of the St. Lawrence and Joseph-Etienne Cugnet, Sieur de Saint-Etienne, to act in the trial of suits brought from the country on the left bank of the river. A similar arrangement was made in the district of Three Rivers.

In the autumn of 1761, General Gage published an ordinance dividing the district of Montreal into five areas for the purpose of rendering the administration of justice more prompt and less expensive. Courts were to be held at Montreal, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Longueuil, Point-Claire, and Lavaltrie. The militia officers in each division were instructed to meet on the 24th of October to make arrangements for the sittings of these courts and prepare rosters of officers for duty thereon. Each court was to be composed of not more than seven and not less than five officers of the militia, of whom one at least must have the rank of captain. Sessions were to be held on the first and fifteenth day of each month to decide civil suits according to the laws and customs of the country in so far as these laws and customs were known to the members. Appeals from their decisions were to be carried to a board of officers of the regular troops, of which three were appointed to sit on the 20th of each month, one at Montreal, another at Varennes, and the third at St. Sulpice. A further appeal to the governor in person was provided for. Authority to hear and decide civil suits for the recovery of debts not exceeding twenty livres was granted to all officers of the militia with an appeal only to the court of the division. The militia officers were instructed to arrest all persons charged with serious crimes and conduct them under escort to Montreal, forwarding a charge sheet and list of witnesses with each prisoner. They were particularly required to maintain peace and order within their respective parishes. The captains of militia for the town of Montreal soon after presented a memorial to the governor in which they declared their readiness to administer justice without pay as they had done in the past but applied for exemption from the ordinance for billeting troops in their dwellings. They further requested that fuel be supplied for heating their court-room and that their clerk Mr. P. Panet, afterwards appointed

judge for that district, should receive fees at the rate of thirty sols for each suit. They had appointed two sergeants to act as bailiffs and court-criers and a tariff of fees was recommended for their payment. The bailiffs were required not only to attend court but to oversee the performance of the statutory labour of King's *corvée*. When the death of King George the second became known in Montreal, the militia officers and merchants presented an address of condolence to the governor in which they requested him to continue his protection declaring that they would endeavour to deserve it by their zeal and ardent prayers, which they constantly offered to the Almighty for his health and safety.

By the thirteenth article of the final treaty of peace signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, the whole of the French possessions in Canada and its dependencies were definitely ceded to Great Britain. The French inhabitants or any others who had been subjects of the King of France in Canada were granted the right of selling their property to subjects of his Britannic Majesty and removing from the country, providing this was done within eighteen months from the date of the ratification of the treaty. Some of the noblesse, principal merchants, and military officers availed themselves of this privilege and took their departure for France in that and the following year. In 1762, Colonel Burton had embarked with the troops destined for the siege of Havanna and he was succeeded in command of the district of Three Rivers by Colonel Frederick Haldimand, a Swiss officer, whose native language was French. Lieutenant Gagy was soon after appointed secretary for that district and other French-Swiss officers were appointed in other districts to facilitate communication with the inhabitants. General Gage became commander of the forces at New York and vacated his appointment at Montreal where he was succeeded by Colonel Burton on his return. The captains of militia presented an address of regret to Gage on his retirement to which he replied warmly testifying to the excellent services they had rendered, and concluded with the advice to "continue to do your duty in advancing the public welfare, and not only increasing the good reputation you have already acquired among your fellow countrymen but earn what will certainly not fail to receive, the gratitude and protection of the king."

Gage took care to report to General Amherst that the Canadians had been treated with consideration. "I feel the highest satisfaction" he wrote, "that I am able to inform you that during my command in this government I have made it my constant care and attention that the Canadians should be treated agreeable to His Majesty's kind and humane intentions. No invasion on the properties or insult on their persons has gone unpunished. All reproaches on their subjection by the fate of arms, revilings on their customs or country, and all reflections on their religion have been discountenanced and forbid. No distinction has been made between the Briton and Canadian, but equally regarded subjects of the same Prince. The soldiers live peaceably with the inhabitants and they reciprocally acquire an affection for each other. I have, withstanding, made known His Majesty's pleasure on these particulars to the several commanders of corps, that every individual may be acquainted therewith, which will, no doubt, add the greatest weight to the orders and directions which have been already given. And you may be assured that troops who have ever shown the most ardent desire to advance the interest of their Sovereign, and paid the most exact obedience to his commands will vie with each other in brotherly love and affection to the Canadians over whom His Majesty has extended his royal favour and protection."

In his proclamation, published on taking over the government of the district, Burton announced that the ordinances passed during the administration of his predecessor would be continued in force and "that civil justice would be administered by militia and military courts, with the right of appeal to the governor."

On the 9th May, 1764, he considered it necessary to publish a proclamation instructing captains and officers of militia to take steps at once for the repair of the roads and bridges and the clearing out of the ditches within a month's time, when an inspection would be made. They were also authorized to issue arms on loan during good behaviour to enable the inhabitants to shoot game.

There seemed to be good reason to believe that the new administration had gained the respect and confidence of the great majority of the people. The revelations of the villainy practiced upon them by the last intendant and his associates, and the neglect of the French government to redeem the paper money circulated for the purchase of supplies had not strengthened the affection of the Canadians for their mother country.

The Indian nations of the west formerly allied with the French had continued the war with startling success. They had taken Mackinac by surprise and closely besieged the garrison of Detroit which was reduced to the last extremity. A portion of the Senecas had unexpectedly taken up arms and cut off a waggon train loaded with supplies on the portage of Niagara, killing nearly the whole of the escort. Almost two thousand settlers from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia had been carried into captivity. This grave situation demanded resolute action. It was then decided to march two forces from different directions into the heart of the Indian territory. One of these based upon Fort Pitt, under Bouquet, was directed to march against the hostile Indians in the Ohio Valley. The other, under Colonel John Bradstreet, was to assemble at Oswego, ascend the lakes, compel the Senecas to make peace, relieve Detroit, and punish the hostile tribes in its vicinity and farther west.

Bradstreet's reputation stood high. His successful expedition against Fort Frontenac had perhaps gained him undue credit. He had earned further distinction by his personal courage in an action near Oswego. He was a man of great energy, exceedingly ambitious, vain and self-willed, but deficient in judgment and self-control.

The organization of these two columns was energetically undertaken by General Gage in the winter of 1763-4. As the number of regular troops which could be employed was rather limited, the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania were directed to furnish contingents of volunteers for the column to be assembled at Fort Pitt while Connecticut, New Jersey and New York were required to furnish similar contingents for the expedition to move from Oswego. Sir William Johnson was at the same time instructed to exert his powerful influence with the Six Nations to secure their co-operation, or at all events their neutrality. On the 9th of January the governor of Montreal was required to engage four hundred skilled boatmen in his district to be employed early in the spring in the transportation of one hundred bateaux, loaded with provisions, from Montreal to Oswego. The Quarter Master General of the district was at once directed to build the necessary boats and convey the provisions in sleighs to Lachine to enable this convoy to proceed as soon as the disappearance of the ice would permit. About a month later, apparently with some misgivings, Gage decided to require the services of a Canadian contingent to form part of this expedition. His letter on this subject to Governor Murray is dated at New York on the 12th February. In it he asserted that "nothing can so effectually serve to convince the savages how vain and erroneous their expectations have been of French supplies, and that the Arms of Great Britain, have received Additional strength by the Conquest of Canada, than their seeing a Body of Canadians in Arms, and ready to act Hostily against them, in conjunction with British Troops." The contingent required from the province of Quebec was to consist of one battalion of 300 men divided into five companies, each composed of one captain, two subalterns and sixty men exclusive of non-commissioned officers, the whole to be commanded by a major and to be on the same footing as other provincial troops. They were to be supplied with arms, ammunition and a certain amount of clothing from the stores at Quebec or Montreal, and also with provisions sufficient for their voyage to Oswego, where they would receive tents and other camp equipage. Two companies were required from each of the governments of Montreal and Quebec, and one company from Three Rivers. As it was of the utmost importance that the movement from Oswego should take place as early in the spring as the weather would permit, the companies from Quebec and Three Rivers were required to report at Montreal by the end of March. Similar letters were addressed on the same day to the governors of Montreal and Three Rivers. Murray replied hopefully, on the 5th of March, that he had little doubt that a sufficient number of volunteers could be obtained for this service but that compulsion would be clearly out of the question, as the time fixed by the treaty of Paris for the emigration of any of the Canadians who desired to remove, had not nearly elapsed and any attempt to order them to proceed on military service might be construed as an infraction of the treaty. Consequently he interpreted Gage's instructions to mean that the corps in question should be composed of volunteers under the command of officers of their own race. He added: "I wish you had settled the Encouragement which is to be given these people; you say they are to be upon the footing with the other provincial Troops; But I am told every Province differs, with regard to pay, clothing, &c., &c., I am of Opinion the Canadians who are to serve on this Occasion should have as much encouragement as any of His Majesties subjects: These poor people have hardly yet had time to breathe; after a long uninterrupted Series of Misfortunes, they have flattered themselves, that under our Government, they would be exempted, at least, from the intolerable weight of Military Service under which they formerly groaned, hence an additional Necessity of making the service you require of them at present a Volun-

tary one, when put upon that footing, it will not be in the power of French Emissaries, Priests, or other disaffected persons, to turn the Measure to their purposes, and thereby to persuade many to leave the province who otherwise would not have thought of it; for these Considerations, and a thousand other just, equitable, and political ones, I shall allow the two Companies to be raised in the district of Quebec, the very same Encouragement which is given to their provincials by the Government of New York."

General Burton had already written to Murray from Montreal, stating that had General Gage wanted 300 more boatmen to proceed further up the country than Oswego, they might have been easily engaged, but adding "in my Opinion, it is yet too Early in the day, for raising Canadians to act Hostily against the Savages; especially as we have still amongst us so many Priests and French Officers, whom I cannot help suspecting would be apt to poison the minds of Canadians going to War." Colonel Haldimand contented himself with reporting the receipt of Gage's requisition and stating that he would go to work at once to carry it into effect.

Murray lost no time in offering the command of the battalion to the Chevalier de Repentigny, who had recently returned from France, accompanied by a considerable number of other officers, formerly belonging to the French colonial troops. His family was one of the oldest and best known of the noblesse. He had served with credit on several expeditions in the Indian country, had been severely wounded at the battle of Lake George and further distinguished himself at Montmorency, and at Sainte-Foy, in the latter battle having held an important command. He had been recommended for the cross of Saint-Louis. Murray had much respect for him. In a letter of introduction to General Burton, he described him as the best informed and most polite of all these officers.

In his proclamation calling for volunteers, Murray offered a bounty of twelve piastres in money and a capote, two pairs of Indian shoes and a pair of gloves to each man and a daily wage of six pence English money, taking care to announce that the services of such volunteers would terminate with the campaign. They were required to take a special oath of allegiance. At that time he had not yet been appointed governor-general of the province, although it was intimated that such appointment was to be made. Consequently he could not assume any authority over the other governors. He wrote to them at once stating the steps that he had taken, and enclosing copies of his letters to General Gage and M. de Repentigny, and of his proclamation and the proposed oath of allegiance, to promote uniformity in their action.

In his letter to Burton, referring to his intention of appointing Canadian officers for the two companies to be raised at Quebec, Murray remarked "nothing will more effectually convince the Savages, that they are to expect no more assistance from France, and that this Country is now entirely under His Majesties Dominion than the appearance of their old French Leaders in arms against them."

Haldimand had already assembled the captains of militia and after explaining the requisition and the object of the campaign, he ordered them to call together their companies and ask for a sufficient number of volunteers. If volunteers were not obtained, he intended to command the necessary number of men from each parish.

His verbal instructions were supplemented by a circular letter requiring prompt and vigorous efforts to secure the proper number of volunteers.

Burton decided to do nothing until he received instructions from Murray.

A few days later, Murray informed the other governors that he had fixed the rates of pay as follows:

- A major, \$3.00 a day.
- Each captain, \$2.00 a day.
- Each lieutenant, \$1.00 a day.
- Each sergeant, one shilling, Halifax, currency, or one-fifth of a dollar.
- Each corporal, eight pence, Halifax currency.
- Each private, six pence or one-tenth of a dollar.

They were to receive pay and rations from the day of their enlistment. He had appointed two lieutenants to each company and no ensign. He sent them a specimen capote, a pair of leggings and a pair of shoes to show exactly what he intended to furnish to the men. A letter from Haldimand, having indicated that he anticipated some difficulty in obtaining the required number of volunteers, Murray remarked rather precipitately as it proved, "it shews a bad will, I do not like; it cannot however

affect the king's service for 1,000 more than I want may be had here & to make up your Company you may have recourse to this part of the Province."

De Repentigny however declined the command of the battalion, and J. B. M. des Berges de Rigauville was appointed to command with the rank of major. *This gentleman belonged to a family which had been in the country for eighty years; he was then thirty-seven years of age, and after some service in the militia had received a commission in the colony troops. He had commanded at Fort St. Frederic fought gallantly at Ste. Foy and had already declared his intention of remaining in the province. Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay and M. de Catalogne, both former officers in the colony troops, were appointed captains of the two companies recruited in the government of Quebec. There had been, however, a marked revulsion in popular feeling respecting voluntary enlistment. "At first our recruiting went on briskly." Murray wrote to Burton on the 22nd March, "but latterly the people have got it into their heads, that by taking money, and Voluntary inlisting, they were liable to remain Soldiers while they lived, from this Reasoning I shall with difficulty, be able to Com-pleat our two Companys, but if I am put to it, I shall make no Scruple to draw the few I want from the Jeune Gens, and to that end I have made the inclosed preparations, which I take the Liberty to Inclose to you, that if you find it necessary, and think the Expedient proper, you may do the Same."

Haldimand also reported his surprise that the bounty of twelve piastres was likely to become an obstacle rather than an encouragement but he said that his recruiting officers had gone into the rural parishes and he learned that the young men were talking it over by their own fire-sides and had estimated that the pay and bounty together would amount to 180 francs which then seemed a large sum to them.

He was obliged to draw upon the treasury of Quebec for all necessary expenses as he declared that his district was not able to bear the cost of enrolment of even twenty men as the poverty of the people was beyond conception and daily increasing. For the command of the company from Three Rivers, he selected M. de Montizambert, lately a lieutenant in the colony troops, who had lived for twenty years in the Ohio country, where he had married a German woman. As lieutenants, he appointed M. de Richerville, also formerly in the colony troops, and M. Schmidt who had served for a long time in the militia.

When the time appointed for the departure of the Quebec companies arrived they were still incomplete and Murray found himself obliged to accept eight Indians from Lorette and to send a circular letter to the captains of militia in the parishes above Quebec, calling their attention to his proclamation and informing them that in the event a due proportion of volunteers from their companies did not present themselves, he would be obliged to resort to a draft to obtain men. He would deprive all the inhabitants of those parishes of their arms beginning with the militia officers as he did not consider that men who declined to use them for the public good, deserved to be trusted with them for their private benefit. He would also deprive the drafted men of the bounty. An order was prepared directing a draft of fifty men from the companies of militia in the parishes extending from Beaumont to Cap de St. Ignace if they did not furnish twenty volunteers for service during the campaign on the conditions stated in his proclamation. Eventually, he found it necessary only to accept ten drafted men as supernumeraries in the event that the companies from the other districts were not up to strength. Noyelle de Fleurimont, a distinguished colonial officer, was appointed paymaster with the rank of captain.

Haldimand had better success. His company was completed entirely with volunteers and he had accepted ten supernumeraries whom he proposed should be taken in the place of the men drafted at Quebec, or to fill up the Montreal companies. However, he had deemed it necessary to recall the arms issued to the inhabitants of the two parishes of Batiscan, who had informed his recruiting agents that as they had been disarmed at the conquest of the country, they would never take up arms again. Eventually all the companies were completed with volunteers and all drafted men discharged. The battalion left Montreal for Oswego on the 6th of April, and Murray reported that he was confident that "they will do their Duty with as much Zeal and alacrity as any Provincial Corps whatever. They were raised and equipped in fourteen days." In the list of subaltern officers were men bearing the names of such old colonial families as Hertel, La Madeleine, Montesson, Dupré, St. André and Clignancour.

* De Repentigny returned to France soon after. He was created a Marquis, promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and appointed governor of Senegal from which he was transferred to Mahé, in the French East Indies, where he died in 1771, having successfully defended that province against the attacks of a native ruler.

Writing from New York on the 2nd of May, Gage said "The news of the March of the Canadians has already astonished the Savages; and Sir Wm. Johnson says, it will have a better effect to convince them of their folly than anything he can say or do to persuade them that there is no assistance to be expected for them from that Quarter. *Mais ne dites rien de tout cecy en Canada.*"

The composition of the force ordered to assemble at Oswego was as follows:—

The 17th Foot, completed with men from the 55th.

Four companies of eighty men each, from other regular regiments.

500 Militia from New Jersey.

500 Militia from New York, and Connecticut.

300 Militia from Canada.

50 men of the Royal Artillery.

10 Light Field Pieces.

making a total strength of more than 2,000 rank and file. The provincial troops from New Jersey, however, did not arrive in New York until the first week in May, consequently they were late in reaching Oswego. A council with the Canadian Indians was successfully held at Caughnawaga on the 5th of May, at which the different tribes accepted a war belt and 300 of them marched on the 15th by way of Crown Point to report to Sir Wm. Johnson at his residence in the Mohawk Valley.

On their arrival, that officer assembled the whole of the local militia numbering about 1,500 men, whom he reviewed in the presence of the Indians. Some of the Senecas were present and it was presumed that on their return home they would tell their people that the English were moving in large bodies towards the frontiers. About the middle of June, Johnson took his departure for Niagara, accompanied by the principal chiefs of the Mohawks. The Canadian contingent had gone on in advance to Niagara where they arrived on the 18th of May, and two days later were sent forward to the upper landing above the falls where they built a stockade for the protection of stores which afterwards received the name of Fort Schlosser in honour of the officer in charge of the work. They were subsequently employed for many days in the transportation of stores on the portage. This was hard and monotonous toil and evoked some complaint on their part, which, twenty years after was recorded and probably exaggerated by the venomous pen of Pierre du Calvet. It would appear that their private letters to their families did not support these complaints.

The remainder of the troops gradually arrived at Niagara in detachments during the month of June, but the contingents from the other provinces are said to have fallen considerably short of the numbers demanded. About 2,000 Indians were assembled at a council, being the largest number ever brought together for that purpose. The Senecas from the Genesee Valley had not arrived as soon as the others, but they appeared at length, delivered up their prisoners and agreed to cede to the crown a strip of land extending on both sides of the river from lake to lake, four miles in width on each bank with the privilege of establishing a military post on the north side of Lake Erie, afterwards known as Fort Erie. The land granted by this treaty amounted to about 300,000 acres. Two hostages were also given by the Senecas as a pledge for the appearance of the chiefs of the Shawanese and Delawares, with the prisoners detained by those nations. Twenty-two nations were present at this council, eleven of whom were western Indians. The warriors from Canada agreed at the same time to accompany the expedition to Detroit.

General Bradstreet had fallen sick at Albany and this fact had contributed to delay the movement of troops from Niagara. The expedition actually took its departure from Fort Schlosser, on the 8th of August and four days later arrived at Presque Isle on Lake Erie where a delegation from the Delawares and Shawanese was waiting. A treaty of peace was hastily concluded with these nations by which they agreed to deliver up all prisoners in their hands. The garrison of Detroit was relieved on the 26th of August and a council with the Indians of the vicinity was held on the 7th September which terminated in a treaty of peace with the remainder of the hostile nations. Bradstreet had thus succeeded in accomplishing his mission without further bloodshed but he was subsequently rather harshly censured for having granted the Indians such favourable terms.

General Gage thanked Haldimand warmly for his company which had been reported to him as the best by far in the battalion and Captain Montizambert also reported that it was in good state of discipline and excellent spirits.

On the 10th of August, General Murray was formally proclaimed governor of the province of Quebec. Copies of his commission were sent to the governors of the other districts who considered it their duty to notify captains of militia by circular letters.

During the last week in November, the battalion of volunteers returned to Montreal where those from Montreal and Three Rivers were paid off and discharged, the men from the latter district receiving four days additional pay to enable them to reach their homes. The pay-roll for this company has been preserved among the Haldimand papers and contains the names of three officers, two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and sixty privates. Pte. Noel Fortier died on service on the 24th of August. As all ranks had received an advance of pay up to and including the 24th of May, before leaving Three Rivers, pay was then claimed for 196 days, extending from the 25th of May to the 6th December, inclusive. Haldimand reported that "these good fellows" who had never received such considerate treatment before, had returned to their homes well satisfied, and hoping that their services would be required again the following year. "It is certain," he remarked "that their presence has produced a good effect on the minds of the Indians."

Ten years later on the passage of the Quebec bill, the surviving officers were placed upon a half pay list. Their commander, de Rigauville, was at the same time appointed a member of the legislative council. He subsequently distinguished himself by his loyalty and activity during the invasion of the province in 1775, and was wounded during the siege and taken prisoner at the surrender of St. John. He died in captivity at Bristol in Pennsylvania, a few months later.

Occasional demands were made upon the militia for assistance in transporting stores for the military posts in Canada and the "Upper Country." Thus in the autumn of 1765, five parishes of the island of Montreal were required to furnish sixty-four men with oars and paddles for the service. Shortly afterwards the loss of a sloop on Lake Ontario made it necessary to employ one hundred additional boats which appear to have been manned in the same way. In the following spring Murray issued instructions to the justices of the peace to issue impress warrants for horses, sleighs, and other carriages for the transport of provisions to Lachine and the upper posts, the persons thus employed to be paid current wages. These warrants were subsequently withdrawn owing to doubt as to their legality.

Much to General Murray's annoyance the lieutenant-governors of Montreal and Three Rivers declined to acknowledge him as commander of the troops in their districts and their attitude in this respect was approved by the commander-in-chief. Murray protested very strongly, declaring that the province could not be governed without a military force as "the Canadians are to a man soldiers and naturally conceive that he who commands the troops should govern." He soon became involved in a bitter quarrel with some of the English speaking merchants and traders, the greater part of whom, he described as being either persons of inferior education, who had come in the wake of the army, or discharged soldiers. They were all seeking to get rich quickly and had few scruples as to the means they employed providing they were successful in gaining their object. Nothing he said would satisfy some of these "licentious fanatics" but the expulsion of the Canadians who "were the bravest race on the globe and if indulged with a few privileges would become the most faithful subjects in this American Empire." In a later despatch he stated that a few British traders, vexed with him because he would not appoint them magistrates or allow them to oppress the "new subjects," continued to display the utmost malice towards him. These dissensions increased until finally a number of merchants united in a petition asking for his recall, charging him with passing vexatious, oppressive and unconstitutional ordinances, refusing to listen to their protests, and treating them with rudeness and anger, concluding by a singular complaint of "his further adding to this by the most flagrant partiality, by fomenting parties, and taking measures to keep Your Majesties old and new subjects divided from one another by encouraging the latter to apply for judges of their own national language." This petition was strongly supported by another from their business connections in London, and under date of April 1st, 1766, Murray was directed to return to England to give an account of his administration. When this became known, a majority of the seigniors signed a strong memorial to the king, praising the governor highly for his affability and impartiality, by which they asserted he had attached the people to him and praying that he should be reinstated.

Sir, Guy Carleton, who had served under Wolfe during the siege of Quebec, was selected as his successor but did not arrive at Quebec until the autumn of that year. The dilapidated state of the fortifications soon came to his attention and he strongly recommended the repair of the walls of Quebec as he reported that as the damage by bombardment during the siege had never been mended, the masonry must soon tumble down unless this was done. A complaint from Sir. Wm. Johnson respecting the suspicious conduct of some Canadian traders among the Indians in the West caused

him to make enquiries which seemed to have convinced him of their general good will and loyalty. "Ever since my arrival," he remarked, "I have observed the Canadians with an attention bordering upon suspicion but hitherto have not discovered in them either actions or Sentiments, which do not belong to good subjects."

Soon afterwards he recommended that a pension should be granted to M. Chaussegros de Lery, who had been one of the first of the French officers remaining in the country to take the oath of allegiance for which he had since been punished by summary expulsion from France in a state of poverty. He reviewed the military situation of the province and again directed the attention of the Ministry to the ruinous state of the fortifications, and the small number of regular troops under his command. The British militia would number about 500 men while the French militia was about 18,000 strong of whom he remarked "above one-half have already served with as much valour, with more zeal and more military knowledge for America than the Regular Troops of France, that were joined with them." The common people, he said, were still much under the influence of the seigniors and he forwarded a list of the noblesse by which it appeared that about one hundred Canadian officers were then residents in France or employed in the French service, "all ready to be sent back, in case of a war, to a Country they are intimately acquainted with, and with the assistance of some Troops to stir up a People accustomed to pay them implicit obedience." About seventy Canadian officers had remained in the province, for whom no local employment could be provided. The construction of a citadel at Quebec was again strongly recommended as in the event of a war with France, the province would undoubtedly be in a very precarious situation.

Writing on the 20th January, 1768, after referring once more to the necessity of strengthening the fortifications of Quebec, he declared, "still I think the Interests of Great Britain but half advanced unless the Canadians are inspired with a cordial attachment, and zeal for the King's Government." He then proceeded to recommend that they should be maintained in the quiet possession of their property according to their own customs and that recourse to Courts of law should be made prompt and easy. The establishment of a provincial corps for the defence of the country was also advocated. "But, Besides these points of Justice," he wrote, "as long as the Canadians are deprived of all Places of Trust and Profit, they never can forget they no longer are under the Dominion of their natural Sovereign: tho' this immediately concerns but few, yet it affects the Minds of all, from a national Spirit, whichever interests itself at the general Exclusion of their Countrymen: three or four of their principal Gentlemen, with the Rank of Counsellors, was it little more than Honorary, tho' on many Occasions they might prove useful; a few Companies of Canadian Foot judiciously officered, with three or four trifling Employments, in the Civil Department, would make very considerable Alterations on the Minds of the People; it would divide the Canadians at least, and secure a part in Case of a French war that would emulate the zeal of the King's National Troops; It would hold up Hopes to the Gentlemen, that their children, without being bred up in France, or the French Service, might support their Families in the Service of the King their Master, and by the Employments preserve them from sinking into the lower class of People, by the division and subdivision of Lands every Generation."

His proposal for the construction of a citadel was referred to other departments interested. Steps were then taken to draft a new bill for the government of the province which was placed in charge of the Earl of Shelburne. The governor was instructed to make every effort to conciliate the new subjects and convince them of the interest of the ministry in their welfare and safety. Secret intelligence had been received indicating that the French government still entertained designs for the recovery of Canada. This information was duly transmitted to Carleton who was directed to make enquiries. He reported his absolute disbelief that there was any plot in existence in Canada, but stated that he had not the least doubt of the secret attachment of the Canadians to France and that this would continue as long as they were excluded from all employment under the British Government and until they were assured of being reinstated in their former commissions and employments by which they had chiefly supported themselves and their families. He asserted that the new government had done nothing to gain over a single man in the province by making it his private interest to remain a subject of the king, and that on the contrary the interests of many would be promoted by a revolution. He surmised that the proposal to raise a Canadian regiment had become known in France, and that the intelligence transmitted had been purposely circulated to create distrust of them.

He was informed in reply that his remarks would have great weight in the consideration of the measures proposed as they demonstrated "both the propriety and

necessity of extending to that brave and faithful people a reasonable participation in those establishments, which are to form the Basis of the future Government of the Colony of Quebec." The Minister frankly stated that although he fully agreed with Carleton that great advantages might be derived from granting commissions in the military forces to Canadians, he considered it scarcely practicable then owing to the strong prejudice existing against that proposal among all political parties.

His recommendation for the citadel was renewed in the following year with estimates for its construction and proposals for a new road connecting the province with New York to be built by means of a lottery. The plans for the citadel were once more referred, this time to a committee of the Privy Council with the Marquis of Granby as chairman.

A strong memorial from the Canadians for the restoration of their laws and customs and pledging their fidelity, seems to have revived interest in the proposed bill for the government of the province which had been so long deferred and a report from the committee was eventually forwarded to Carleton for his consideration. At the same time he was instructed to enquire into further reports of discontent and take every necessary measure for the defence of the country. Leave of absence was subsequently granted him to return to England for the purpose of giving evidence before the committee, of which he availed himself late in the summer of 1770. In his absence the administration of the government devolved upon Lieutenant Governor Cramahé who reported in January, 1771, that the people were perfectly disposed to remain quiet, nor was there any reason to apprehend any seditious movement among them, even if war should begin with Spain, as they still hoped to be "shortly relieved from several inconveniencies under which they consider themselves at present to labour." On the 25th of July, 1772, he wrote again "altho" I can scarcely credit that any of His Majesty's new Subjects have entered into, or formed any plan destructive to the King's interests, and am pretty certain, if any such Thing is in Agitation, that it must come from the other side of the water, and few here intrusted with the Secret, His Majesty may be assured. I shall keep an exact watch upon their Words and Actions, endeavour to find out their Correspondence and if I discover anything to be plotting or acting against His Royal Interests, that I shall consult and Concert, with the Commanders of His Forces upon the Spot, and His other Servants, the best and most effectual measures for the preservation and Security of this important Province."

A few months later he thought proper to report that M. Dufy (or Dufils) of Montreal, formerly a captain of militia, had stated that he had been notified of his nomination to the order of St. Louis, with which he would be invested whenever he went to France for that purpose, but that he had no intention of undertaking the journey. This information excited his suspicions as he conjectured that the appointment had probably been made with a view of maintaining French influence among that class of people who had profited most by the change of dominion but he affirmed that it would have little effect, "if the Government of the province was established upon a firm and solid basis, and some means could be devised of employing the Noblesse, who at present are at a loss how to dispose of, or provide for, their children."

During the governor's prolonged absence Cramahé continued to urge the adoption of a new constitution for the province in almost every despatch and insisted that the only sure way to gain the affection of the new subjects was to grant them all possible freedom in the exercise of their religion. He received and forwarded a petition from a number of the British inhabitants for the establishment of an elective House of assembly but took the precaution of remarking that not more than five of the persons who had signed it were freeholders and that four of these owned very little property, while the actual number of tenants did not exceed thirty. They had endeavoured to induce the Canadians to join them in this petition but had signally failed. The government bill was accordingly introduced into parliament at the session of 1774, and passed into law becoming known as the Quebec Act. Carleton did not return to Canada until 18th of September, 1774, and immediately reported that the French Canadians were highly pleased with the provisions of the new act, and that all ranks of people among the them vied with each other in testifying their gratitude and respect. Within a very few hours after his arrival he received a letter by express from General Gage informing him that in consequence of the alarming condition of affairs in the province of Massachusetts he felt obliged to collect all the military force in his power at Boston, and he had consequently sent transports to bring two regiments from Quebec to that place, thus reducing the regular force in the province to two weak battalions, one at Quebec and the other at Montreal with detachments at Three Rivers and Chambly. He also enquired whether, as a last resort, a body of Canadians and

Indians might be assembled for service in Massachusetts to act in conjunction with his troops. Carleton replied at once that the two regiments should be embarked as soon as the ships arrived and that the Canadians had strongly expressed their satisfaction at the recent legislation for their benefit. The formation of a Canadian regiment would complete their happiness and in case of necessity it could be increased to three or more battalions. He was satisfied that their fidelity and zeal could be relied on, but, if this proposal, which he had long before recommended, should be adopted, it was necessary that the officers should be placed on the same footing as in the rest of the infantry of the line with half-pay on disbandment. He was informed that the Indians were in very good humour and believed that the organization of a Canadian battalion would have great influence upon them.

The British Cabinet, however, seem to have entertained considerable doubt as to the manner in which the act would be received by the British inhabitants, many of whom had strongly opposed its passage and Carleton was urged "to endeavour by every Argument which your own good sense will suggest to you, to persuade the natural born subjects of the justice and propriety of the present form of Government and of the attention that has been shown to their Interests not only in adoption of the English Laws, as far as it was consistent with what was due to the just claims and moderate wishes of the Canadians, but in the opening to the British Merchant, by an Extension of the Province, so many new channels of important commerce."

This was no easy task. A letter addressed to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec from the Congress at Philadelphia, printed in French and English, was soon widely circulated and many agents were active in spreading discontent, not only among the English speaking population, but among the *habitants*. Meetings were held at Montreal under the leadership of Thomas Walker, a veteran agitator, to condemn the Quebec Act and petition for its repeal. A committee to act in conjunction with that formed in Montreal had been appointed at Quebec. All attempts to obtain support from the French Canadians had failed but they were uneasy and timorous.

Gage again appealed for assistance but Carleton deferred a reply until he could send it by a confidential officer as he feared that his letter might be intercepted. He reported that although the gentry were well disposed and desirous of serving in a regular force, they did not care to command the militia as they had never done so under French rule. The hasty disbandment of the Canadian battalion raised in 1764, without any provisions for its officers by a gratuity or half-pay was still fresh in their minds. The ancient habits of obedience of discipline among the inhabitants had become greatly relaxed. They had imbibed new ideas and it was not likely that they could be easily induced to take up arms and march into another province, particularly as the discontented faction was trying to persuade them that the Quebec Act had been passed merely to serve the purpose of the moment and with the intention of restoring the despotism of their old masters, the French. He thought however, it would be an opportune time for raising a battalion or more of regular troops among them.

"Since it could not be done before," he wrote, "this would prove a fair opportunity for raising a battalion or two of Canadians; such a measure might be of singular use, in finding Employment for, and consequently firmly attaching the Gentry, to our Interests, in restoring them to a significance, they have nearly lost, and through their means obtaining a further influence upon the Lower class of People, a material service to the State, besides that of effectually securing many nations of Savages."

Several other agents from New England arrived during the winter, armed with letters to their friends both in Quebec and Montreal, and addressed a meeting of the English speaking merchants of Montreal held secretly at Lachine at which it was alleged that they had made the threat that if the Canadians would not join them the province would be invaded by 50,000 men, and laid waste with fire and sword. They made further attempts to gain the support of the French population and even that of the Indians in the village near Montreal, but Carleton was assured that their mission had failed and that they had returned home without any apparent success. At all events they had not succeeded in their proposals for the appointment of a committee to correspond with the committee at Cambridge in Massachusetts, and for the election of delegates to attend the Continental Congress to meet at Philadelphia in May. Carleton's official letters at this time do not indicate that the threats of invasion from other provinces caused him any serious alarm.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

(1)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA, HALDIMAND PAPERS.

(B. 7. P. 15.)

General Murray's Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada,
June 5th, 1762.

My Lord.

Militia. The Canadians are formed into a militia for the better regulation of which each parish in proportion to its extent and number of inhabitants is divided into one, two or more Companies who have their proper officers, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Majors, Aide-Majors, Sergeants, &c., and all orders or public regulations are addressed to the Captains or Commanding Officers, who are to see the same put in execution. From these Companies detachments are formed, and sent to any distance and in 1759 and 1760, the whole were in arms for the defence of their Country.

(2)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Vol. II., p. 32.

Quebec 17th November 1763.

Dear Burton

Monsr Repentigny who will have the honor to put this into your hands desires to be introduced to you: His Behaviour will certainly procure your regard, of all the Officers of the Troupes de Colonies, which I have conversed with he appears to be the best informed & the most polite. The great number of these Gentlemen lately arrived here by the last Ships, will make it prudent I imagine to attend to their Conduct; It certainly is very natural for these Gentlemen to come here to settle their affairs, but as most of those I mentioned have no affairs to settle, nor a single farthing in the Colony, and have at this moment their pockets full of money tho' it is well known they had not a shilling when they left Canada, it will be prudent to watch their motions, most of them talk of staying and becoming English Subjects, but they have a formal leave of absence, for 15 months only signed by Luis; Those who have the Croix St. Luis cannot take the Oaths to our Government, without a formal permission from the King of France; &c., &c. In short a thousand questions relative to these Gentlemen must be solved at home, for which purpose I have wrote very fully concerning them to the Secretary of State, and I have sent a list of their names; Until we get his answer, I apprehend civility, and a proper attention to their conduct is all which is necessary on our parts, in which I flatter myself you will join with me in opinion. I beg my compliments may be made acceptable to Mrs. Burton, embrace little Dick for me, and be assured that I am with great truth and regard

Dear Burton!

Yours &c., &c.

J. M.

To Brigadr Burton.

(3)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 61.

(Copy)

New York 12th February 1764.

Sir:

As it may conduce greatly to the benefit of His Majesty's service to employ a body of Canadians in the Spring, who in conjunction with as many of His Majesty's Regular forces as can be collected, and such other Troops as shall be raised in the

neighbouring provinces, may enable me to assemble a respectable Corps in the spring, which shall serve either to act offensively against the savages, or bring them to terms, on which we may conclude a safe and lasting Peace with the several Indian Nations. I think proper to make the same application to you as has been already made to several of His Majesty's other Governors, and to require an Aid from the Province of Quebec, of One Battalion of Three Hundred Men, divided into five Companys, of One Captain, Two subns. and Sixty men, exclusive of non commissioned Officers, in each Company; The whole to be Commanded by a Field Officer if you think proper, of the Rank of Major, to be upon the same footing with the other provincial troops.

As nothing can so effectually serve, to convince the savages, how vain and erroneous their expectations have been of French Supplys, and that the Arms of Great Britain, have received Additional strength by the Conquest of Canada, than their seeing a Body of Canadians in Arms, and ready to act Hostilye against them, in Conjunction with British Troops; I hope the requisition I have made will meet with your approbation.

The Companys will of course be supplied with Arms, Ammunition &c. from your Stores at Quebec or Montreal, and also provision to last them to Oswego, to which place you will please send them, where they shall be supplied with Tents, and Camp Equipage, and will receive further Orders: And as it will be necessary that the Troops should take the field, as early as possible, the Companys from Quebec and trois Rivieres, should be at Montreal by the latter end of March, in order that the whole Battalion, may be ready to proceed in the provision Boats, which I required in my Letter of the 9th January to Governor Burton to be forwarded to Oswego the moment the Navigation of the River is free. A copy of which I herewith inclose you for Your further information; Those Boats may all be taken back to Montreal, by the spare hands, as I shall have sufficient craft without them.

You'll perceive by this letter, that I apprehend, the large Packet directed to you and forwarded from hence, under the charge of Lieut. McLean, the 15th January, contained Your commission under the Great Seal from His Majesty, as Governor of the Province of Quebec, should I be mistaken in this Conjecture, I have then only to demand from your Government an Aid of one hundred and twenty men, to be divided into Two Companys, of One Captain, two Subns, and Sixty men, exclusive of Non Commissioned officer in each Company; and you will be pleased likewise to appoint a field Officer, to command the whole Corps of Canadians as before mentioned. I have taken the precaution to write to Governors Burton and Haldimand to demand their respective proportions, to make up the three Hundred Canadians intended, tho' I am pretty well convinced, from the reason above mentioned it will be Unnecessary.

I am with great Regard
Sir!

Your most Obedient, and most humble Servant
(Signed) Thos. Gage

Honble Govr Murray

Endorsed: Copy of Major General Gage's Letter to Governor Murray of 12th February 1764—making a Requisition of a Corps of Canadians for his Majesty's Service.

In Govr Murray's of the 5th March 1764.

Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

(4)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2. p. 101.

(Copy)

New York February 12th 1764.

Sir

As it may conduce greatly to the benefit of His Majesty's Service to employ a Body of Canadians in the spring, who in conjunction with as many of His Majesty's Regular Troops, as can be collected, and such other Troops as shall be raised in the neighbouring provinces, may enable Me, to assemble a respectable Corps in the Spring. Which shall serve either to act offensively against the Savages, or bring them to terms on which we may conclude a safe and lasting Peace with the several Indian Nations, I think proper to make the same Application to you, as has been Already made to several of His Majesty's other Governors, and to require an aid from the Government of Trois Rivieres, of Sixty Men, to be formed into one Company,

with one Captain & Two Subalterns, exclusive of Non-Commissioned Officers, being Your proportion of a Battalion of Three Hundred Canadians, intended. The whole to be commanded by a Field Officer, appointed by Governor Murray, of the rank of Major, in order, to be on the same footing with the other Provincial Troops.

As nothing can so effectually serve, to convince the Savages, how vain and erroneous, their expectations have been of French Supplies, and that the Arms of Great Britain, Have receiv'd additional Strength, by the Conquest of Canada, than their seeing a Body of Canadians in Arms, and ready to act hostilely against them, in conjunction with British Troops. I hope the Requisition, I have made, will meet with your Approbation.

The Companies will of course be supplied with Arms, Ammunition, &c. from your Stores at Trois Rivières or at Montreal, and as also provision to last to Oswego, to which place they are to be sent, Where they shall be supplied with Tents & Camp Equipage, and will receive further orders. And as it will be necessary that the Troops should take the Field as early as possible, the Company from Trois Rivières must be at Montreal, by the latter End of March, in order that the whole Battalion may be ready to proceed in the Provision Boats, Which I required in a former letter to Colo. Burton, to be forwarded to Oswego, the moment the Navigation of the River is free. Those Boats may all be taken back to Montreal, by spare hands, as I shall have sufficient Craft without them.

The Aid, I have required from the Government of Trois Rivières, may very likely not depend upon You, as I have sometime since forwarded, what I apprehended to be Governor Murrays Commission under the great Seal; If I should be right in this Conjecture, of which you will certainly be advis'd, this Requisition to you falls of Course, and you'll hear from Governor Murray on this subject

I am with great regard, Sir
Your most Obedient and most humble servant
(Signed) Thos. Gage

His Excellency Governor Haldimand
a true Copy
C: Gagy Secy

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief to Governor Haldimand, dated New York Feby 12th 1764. Making a Requisition of a Corps of Canadians to be raised for his Majesty's Service, in Col: Haldimand's of 18th April 1764.
Inclosure in No. 9.

(5)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 69.

(Copy)

Montreal 2nd March 1764.

Dear Sir,

Late last night, arrived from Crown point, Lieut. Farquar of the 44th, with Major General Gages Dispatches, which, I now forward to you by Ensign Hughes. Inclosed you have a Copy of a Letter from General Gage, to me, regarding the raising a Battn. of 300 Canadians in the Province of Quebec, whereof the District of Montreal, is to furnish two Companys, of one Captain, two Subns. and Sixty men Exclusive of Non Commissioned Officers, in each Company; of which I suppose he has Spoke to you, more fully.

I shall of Course take no Steps in this affair, or mention it to any one, but Colonel Christie, until I have received your Sentiments, and advice upon it.

I must own General Gages Letter appears to me, rather vague, as he does not mention whether they are to be raised as Volunteers, or Draughted out of the Militia; in what manner Money is to be procured, for Bounty, or Pay; The mode of what Province to follow, in Regard to Cloathing, and Pay; how to be Officered, Whither whole British, or part British and part Canadians.

Four hundred Canadians of this District, are to be employed early in the Spring, in the Batteau Service, to Carry up to Oswego, One hundred Batteaus, Loaded with provisions, as Ordered by Genl Gage in his Letter of the 9th January last.

Colonel Christie is now Building Batteaus, and Transporting provisions in Sleighs to La Chine, in order to push up this Convoy, as early as the breaking up of the River will permit, had General Gage wanted three hundred more, to Act as Batteau men, farther up the Country than Oswego, they might be easily had; but in my Opinion, it is yet too Early in the day, for raising Canadians, to act Hostily against the Savages; especially as we have still amongst us, so many Priests, and French Officers, whom we Cannot help suspecting, would be apt to poison the minds of Canadians going to War. These have always been my Sentiments, of which I some time ago, acquainted General Gage.

I shall retain Lieut. Farquar here, untill I Receive Your Answer, who will Carry any Letters you may have to Crown point, through the Woods, as the Lake is not yet taken, and from thence they will be forwarded to New York, by Colonel Beckwith.

I am, Dear Sir, with great Esteeme
Your most Obedient humble servant
(Signed) R. Burton

His Excellency
Brigadier Genl. Murray &c., &c.

Endorsed: Copy of Colonel Burtons Letter to Govr. Murray concerning the Corps of
Canadians to be raised, 2d. March 1764.
Inclosure 5, in No. 6.

(6)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 75.

(Copy)

Trois Rivières 3 Mars 1764.

Monsieur

Je recois dans ce moment une Lettre de Monsr. Le Genl. Gage qui demande Une Compagnie de 60 Hommes de ce Gouvernement étant la proportion d'un Battn de 300 Canadiens, qui doit être Commandé par un Major a vôtre Nomination; Je vais travailler immediattemt a remplir cet Ordre & ne voulant point retarder L'expres, J'ay L'honneur de me dire avec un parfait devouement.

Monsieur
Votre tres humble et tres Obeissant Servt
(Signed) Fredk. Haldimand.

His Ex. Genl. Murray

Endorsed: Copy of Colonel Haldimand's Letter to Governor Murray 3d March 1764, forwarding Gen. Gage's dispatches.
In Govr. Murray's of the 5th of March 1764.
Inclosure 7, in No. 6.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 3rd March, 1764.

I have just received a letter from General Gage who demands a company of 60 men from this Government being its proportion of a Battn. of 300 Canadians to be commanded by a Major nominated by you. I shall proceed immediately to comply with this Order, and not wishing to detain the Express, I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servt.
Fred'k. Haldimand.

His Ex. Genl. Murray.

(7)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 65.

(Copy)

Quebec 5th March 1764

Sir:

Your Letter of the 12th Ultimo was received Yesterday: The two Companies of Canadians you require, from The Quebec district of This province, shall be raised without Delay; The Governors of Trois Riveres, and Montreal will no doubt do the same

with regard to the men demanded from their Respective Districts; as my Commission of Govr to the province is not yet arrived, I have only to consult with them, that we may all do alike.

I flatter myself we shall have no difficulty to procure Volunteers for this Service; to Oblige a Body of Canadians in their present Circumstances to march against the Savages, out of the Province, is not to be attempted: The time fixed by the treaty of Peace for the Emigration of those, who prefer an arbitrary, to a free Government is not near elapsed, to order any of the Canadians out of the way, before that time is expired, might be Construed an attempt to invalidate the article relative to the Emigration of the Canadians, consequently you must mean, that the Corps of Canadians in question, shall be volunteers commanded by their Own Countrymen.

I wish you had settled the Encouragement which is to be given these people; you say *they are to be up on the footing with the other provincial Troops*; but I am told every Province differs, with regard to pay, Cloathing &c., &c. I am of Opinion the Canadians who are to serve on this Occasion should have as much encouragement as any of His Majesties subjects; These poor people have hardly yet had time to breath; after a long uninterrupted Series of Misfortunes, they have flattered themselves, that under our Government, they would be exempted, at Least, from the *intolerable* weight of Military Service under which they formerly groaned, hence an additional Necessity of making the service you require of them at present Voluntary one, when put upon that footing, it will not be in the power of French Emissaries, Priests, or other disaffected persons, to turn the Measure to their purposes, and thereby to persuade many to leave the province who otherwise would not have thought of it; for these Considerations, and a thousand other just, equitable, and political ones, I shall allow the two Companys to be raised in the district of Quebec, the very same Encouragement, which is given to their provincials by the Government of New York. You no doubt Sir, will let me know how you expect the money is to be paid, in the mean time, it must be charged to the Contingent charges of the Army. I send this Letter with a flying Seal to the Governors of trois Rivieres, and Montreal, I hope we shall agree to do alike, I am sorry however the time you have fixed for the Rendezvous will Not admit of waiting your further directions, which may be necessary to make every thing Concur.

I have the Honor to be with great Regard, Sir,
Your most Obedient, and Most humble servant
(Signed) Ja: Murray

Major General Gage

Endorsed: Copy of Governor Murray's Letter to Major Genl Gage of 5th March 1764
In answer to his Requisition of a Corps of Canadians. Reasons why they should be Volunteers.

Inclosure 4 in No. 6.

(8)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 55.

Quebec 5th March 1764.

My Lord:

.....
As the Commander in chief has made a Requisition of three hundred Canadians to serve next Campaign I think it necessary to lay before Your Lordship all the letters which have passed, and all which has been done, in that Affair; I hope I shall prevent my Neighbours from thinking of a draught from the militia, and I flatter myself in so doing I shall meet with his majesty's Approbation; and that orders will be sent to the Commander in chief to dismiss the Canadian Corps, early enough in the Autumn, that every man may have time to come home agreeable to the Terms in my proclamation.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost Truth and Regard—
My Lord.

Your Lordships most obedient, most obliged, and most faithful humble Servant—
Ja: Murray

The Right Honble The Earl of Halifax one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed, Quebec 5th March 1764.

Honble Governor Murray

R May 16th

Informing of some Proceedings with Regard to Canada Paper, and of a Requisition made by the Commander in chief for a Corps of Canadians to act against the Indians. It is his opinion that they should be Volunteers and dismissed at the end of the Campaign.

with 8 Inclosures

D.

No. 6

(9)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 72.

(Copy)

Quebec 6th March 1764.

Dear Burton:

I am to thank you for your kind Letters of the 2d Inst. I could not expect Less from your good sense and Politeness, than a Delay in ye business of raising the Canadians untill we had Consulted together. By my Letter to General Gage, which is left open for your, and Colonel Haldimand's perusal, you will clearly see my sentiments regarding the Quota of Provincial Troops His Excellency has demanded from us.

Upon all occasions it must certainly be Our Duty to contribute every assistance consistant with the Faith of Treatys, and the liberty of the Subject, which the Kings General employed against the Common Enemy may require of us; on this occasion an extraordinary Exertion may be necessary, as General Gage seems to lay no inconsiderable Stress upon the Canadian Corps: To make it answer his expectations in every particular, I have offered the Command of it, to Monsieur Repenteny, and I shall procure Canadian officers for the Two Companys to be raised here; Nothing will more effectually convince the Savages, that they are to expect no more Assistance from France, and this Country is now entirely under His Majesties Dominion, than the appearance of their Old French Leaders in Arms against them. My Letter to Repentiny is left open for your perusal, I hope he will accept, if he does not, I can find another. I enclose the proclamation I have published, with a Copy of the Oath to be taken by every Officer and Soldier.

I wish we may all Concur in opinion. It will look strange if we do not, for my part I assume no Authority, Altho' it certainly doth appear, that the King looks upon me, as His Acting Governor in this New province. The Secretary of States Letters shew it, and it was declared so in the London Gazette the Eight of October Last, since which time my Commission has actually past the Great Seal of Great Britain, and will no doubt be sent As soon as the Multiplicity of instructions can be made. In consequence of a Letter from Lord Halifax, Copy of which is inclosed. I have published the Annexed proclamation in this District, I must beg the favour of you to do the Same in Your Government, and to appoint a Register Office, I shall pay the Clerks for their trouble, as I think it Unreasonable the poor People should be put to any Expense.

I am with great Truth and Esteem, Dear Burton,
Your most faithful and most Obedt humble servant,
(Signed) Ja: Murray

Colonel Burton.

Endorsed: Copy of Governor Murray's Letter to Colonel Burton of the 6th March 1764 Concerning the Corps of Canadians to be raised.

In Govr. Murray's of the 5th March 1764.

Inclosure 6. in No. 6.

D.

(10)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.
Vol. II., p. 97.

A Quebec 6th Mars 1764

Monsieur!

La Connoissance que j'ai de vos Talents pour le Militaire, et le cas que je fais de votre personne, m'engagent par toutes sorte de Raisons a Chercher de vous Attacher a ce pais, Votre Patrie Naturelle; quoiqu'elle soit passée sous une autre Domination, Elle doit vous etre toujours chere; vous y tenés par trop de Liens pour pouvoir facilement Vous en detacher.

Je me flatte toujours que vous serés un des notres, dans cette esperance j'ai un parti a vous proposer, Je serai Charmé que vous Vouliés L'embrasser.

On va Lever un Battalion de trois Cent Volontaires Canadiens pour faire Cette Compagne, Je vous en offre Le Commandement avec le Rang de Major. Monsr. Burton aura le Bonté de vous expliquer plus clairement que je ne puis par Lettre, ce qui vaut ce Titre parmi Nous.

Comme je puis conter sur vous, en cas que vous vouliés L'entreprendre, vos Emolumens seront plus forts qu'ils ne seroient pour tout autre. Si vous prenés le parti de rester, vous ne pouvés mieux faire, ce sera le vrai moyen de vous procurer les bonnes Graces de La Cour, et vous pouré conter que je ferai valoir vos services auprés des Puissances.

Au reste je ne puis vous donner de plus fortes Preuves de mon Estime que par L'offre que je vous fais a present; si vous Jugés a propos de L'accepter, il seroit bon que je pusse conferer avec vous, au Sujet des Arrangements necessaires a prendre pour rendre ce Corps Utile; Vous Aurés aussi la bonté de me faire Sçavoir si vous Croyés ne devoir point embrasser le Parti que je vous propose.

De quelque Maniere que ce soit, Je serai toujours avec La plus parfaite Estime
Monsieur

La votre &c.
J. M.

A Monsr. Repentiney.

(Translation)

Quebec, 6th March, 1764.

Sir:—

The Knowledge I have of your talente and the good will have for you induce me for all Kinds of reasons to endeavour to attach you to this country, your native land, which although it has passed under another government ought to be always dear to you and hold you by too many ties to be easily parted from it.

I always trust that you will become one of us and in this hope I have a proposal to make and will be delighted if you will accept it.

A Battalion of three Hundred Canadian Volunteers is to be raised for this Campaign. I offer you the Command with the Rank of Major, Mr. Burton will have the goodness to explain to you more clearly than I can in a letter what this Title is worth among us.

As I can depend upon you in the event that you wish to undertake it, your emoluments would be greater than for any other. If you determine to remain you cannot do better, this would be a sure means of gaining the favor of the Court, and you may rely that I would properly represent your services to the Authorities.

In conclusion I cannot give you stronger proofs of my esteem than by the offer I now make to you; if you deem proper to accept it, I would like to confer with you respecting the necessary steps to be taken to make this corps useful. You will also have the goodness to let me Know if you believe that you ought not to embrace the opportunity which I propose.

However you decide I shall ever be with the greatest respect,
Sir, Your &c.,

To Monsr. Repentiney.

(11)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 7.

(Copy)

Quebec 6th March 1764

Dear Sir:

By the inclosed Letter for Colonel Burton (which when you have read you will be pleased to seal, and forward) you will see what Steps I have taken to fulfill Genl. Gages Views in raising the Canadian Corps he has demanded from this Province; I wish most heartily, that my notions of that Business may coincide with yours.

Annexed are Copyes of the Proclamation I have thought proper to publish here, and of the Oath I shall require from the Canadian Officers and Soldiers; and I have only to beg that by the return of Captain Brown, you will be pleased to let me know how you mean to proceed in this Business that I may do what in me lye to prevent Confusion, in case we should Unluckily differ in Opinion; for it must appear very ridiculous, and even prejudicial to the Service, if all the Companys are not upon the same footing.

I inclose a Copy of Lord Halifax's Letter to me of the 9th December, and I must intreat you to publish the annexed proclamation, and to appoint a Register Office for the Trois Rivières District, the Clerks or any Other body you may employ in this Business shall be paid by me.

I have the Honor to be Dear Sir
Your most Obedient and most humble Servant
(Signed Ja: Murray)

Colonel Haldimand

Endorsed: Copy of Govr. Murrays Letter to Colonel Haldimand of the 6th March 1764 respecting the Corps of Canadians.

In Govr. Murrays of the 5th of March 1764.

Wishing the Govrs. of the several Districts may all concur in the same Opinion & measures, that all the Companies may be on the same footing.

Inclosure 8. in No. 6.

D.

(12)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 57.

Par L'honorable Jacques Murray Gouverneur de Quebec

Sa majesté attentive au Bonheur et à la Tranquillité de ses sujets a Resolu de faire revenir à la raison quelques Nations sauvages dont la mauvaise Volonté s'est manifestée par la Violence et la Traison à cet Effet le Gouvernement s'est déterminé à associer aux Troupes qui doivent Marcher à ces fins Cinq Compagnies de Volontaires canadiens Chacune de soixante hommes commandées par des officiers de la même Nation deux de ces Compagnies doivent être Levées dans le département de Quebec deux dans celui de Montreal et l'autre Enfin dans celui des Trois Rivières on Nangagera dans ce Corps de Troupes que ceux qui de leur plein Gré seront déterminés à rester sous l'empire de sa Majesté Britannique.

Pour reconnoître et pour recompenser la bonne volonté de ceux qui s'enrôleront on donnera pour Gratification douze piastres en argent à Chaque Volontaire on leur délivrera un Capot deux paires de souliers Sauvages une paire de Mitaines; ont les pourvoira d'armes de Munition et de vivres durant tout le Temps de la Campagne; La Solde affectée à Chaque homme sera de Six Sols anglois par Jour, on aura Soin de les faire accompagner par un prestre Catholique pour y exercer les fonctions de son ministère.

Le service de ces Volontaires finira avec la Campagne, après laquelle chacun sera Libre de ses Volonté et sen retourner chez soy on ne peut faire Trop de diligence pour former ces enrôlements qui par le district de Quebec Le feront au Gouvernement parceque Le rendé Vous General de ces différentes compagnies est fixé à Montreal pour la fin de ce Mois.

Une pareille demarche Suppose dans Le Gouvernement bien de La Confiance envers Les Nouveaux Sujets de Sa Majesté ont est en droit d attendre quil y repondront Non seulement par un Grand empressement a S enroller mais encor par une Grande fidelité a soutenir Leurs engagement dans Toutes Les circonstances ou le bien du service Les placera; du moin ils doivent Le faire autant par honneur et par devoir que par Reconnaissance et par zele pour Leur propres Interests.

Donné a Quebec Sous Le Sceau de Nos armes Le 6e de Mars 1764 et dans La 4me Année du Regne de sa Majesté George 3me Par La Grace de Dieu Roy de La Grande Bretagne

Contresigné
Vive Le Roy

Endorsed: Copy of Govr Murray's

Proclamation for raising Canadian Volunteers to serve agst the Indians
Quebec 6th March 1764

In Govr Murray's of the 5th March 1764.

Inclosure 1, in No. 6

D

(Translation)

By the honorable James Murray Governor of Quebec.

His Majesty solicitous for the happiness and tranquillity of his subjects has determined to bring back to reason several Indian Nations whose ill-will has been shown by acts of violence and treachery. The Government has decided to attach to the troops under orders for this purpose, five companies of Canadian Volunteers, each consisting of sixty men commanded by officers of the same nationality; two of these companies are to be raised in the department of Quebec, two in that of Montreal, and the other in that of Three Rivers, only such persons as have decided of their own free will to remain under the rule of his Britannic Majesty will be enlisted in this body of troops.

As a recognition and reward for their good will every volunteer accepted will be paid a bounty of twelve piastres in money, and will receive a capote, two pairs of Indian shoes and a pair of gloves, they will be provided with arms, ammunition and rations & during the entire campaign the pay of each man will be six pence per day English money. They will be accompanied by a Catholic priest to perform the duties of his ministry.

The service of the Volunteers will terminate with the campaign after which each of them will be at liberty to return to his home. Too much diligence cannot be displayed in proceeding with the enrollment in the district of Quebec as Montreal is designated as the point of general assembly for all these companies at the end of the present month.

Such a measure, on the part of the Government demonstrates its perfect confidence in His Majesty's new Subjects, and it is anticipated that they will respond not only by much alacrity in Enrolling themselves but also by great fidelity in fulfilling their obligations under all circumstances demanded by the good of the service and that they will be impelled to do this as much by a sense of honor and duty as by gratitude and zeal for their own interests.

Given under our Seal at arms the 6th of March, 1764, and in the 4th year of the Reign of His Majesty George 3rd., By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain.

Countersigned.

God save the King.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 60.

Je Soussigné

Déterminé par Mon propre choix a vivre sous L'Empire Britannique, jure d'etre a jamais fidele et de me Comporter dans Toutes les occations en Sujès Zelé Envers sa sacré majesté George Troisième, par la grace de Dieu, Roy de la Grande Bretagne de France et D'Irlande, deffenseur de la foy, et que je soutiendray par Tous luy et las siens, autant qu'il sera dans Mon pouvoir, contre tous Leurs Ennemis je jure en outre que je decouvriray a Sa Majesté ou à son Général, ou à tous ceux qui agiront

sous ses ordre, autant que je le pourray, Tous traître, et Toute Conspirations qui pourrois être formée contre Sa Majesté contre ses Royaumes, ou contre le Gouvernement

(Ja: Murray)

A Quebec le

Endorsed: Copy of the Oath taken by the Canadian Volunteers in Govr. Murray's of the 5th March 1764.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6

D

(Translation)

I the undersigned having decided of my own choice to live under British rule, swear to be forever faithful and to conduct myself on all occasions as a zealous subject of his Sacred Majesty George Third by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and that I will sustain him and his as far as may be in my power against all their enemies. I further swear that I will discover to His Majesty or to his General or to all who serve under his orders as far as I can, all traitors and all conspiracies that may be formed against his Majesty, against his Kingdoms, or against the Government.

Jas. Murray.

At Quebec, the ———

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B., Vol. 6, p. 129.

Trois Rivières le 6e Mars 1764.

Monsieur

J'ay eu Aujourd'huy tous les Capitaines de Milice Ches Moy, & après leurs Avoir expliqué la requisition, que j'ay reçue, et le but de la levée de Ce bataillon; je leurs ay donné Ordre de rassembler leurs Compagnies de Milice, & de demander Chacun Un Certain nombre de Vollontaires, qui jespere se presenteront pour former Cette Compagnie, Sinom je me verray obligé de demandér Un Certain Nombre d'hommes de Chaque Paroisse, afin que la Compagnie puisse se trouver à Mt. Real pr la fin de Mars,—Ou elle sera Armée; Mais j'espere que Vous recevres enfin Vos Commissions avant que le Batt. puisse entrer en Campagne; On M'assure que le General Amherst n'etoit point encore arrivé à Londres au depart des dernieres Lettres

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un parfait devouement

Monsieur

Votre très humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Fred. Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

Au Govr. Murray./ du 6 Mars 64.

Three Rivers, 6th March, 1764.

(Translation)

Sir

To-day I have had all the Captains of Militia assembled at my quarters, and after having explained to them the requisition I have received and the object for raising this battalion, I have given them Orders to call together their Companies of Militia and to require from each a Certain number of Volunteers, who I hope will present themselves to form This Company, If not I shall be obliged to demand a Certain number of men from Each Parish so that the Company may proceed to Montreal before the end of March. Where will they be armed: But I hope that you will receive your Instructions before the Battn can begin the Campaign. I am informed that General Amherst had not arrived in London when the last letters were despatched.

I have the honor to be with entire devotion

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Fred. Haldimand.

To Govr. Murray 6th March /64.

(Endorsed)

(15)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS, Series B., Vol. 9, p. 47.

Montreal March ye 7th 1764.

Sr.

I was this day favored with your letter. By the last Express, I received a letter from Major General Gage, of the 13th of Feb: (which I imagine to be the same date, as his to you), regarding the Raising a Battn. of Canadians. I have by Ensign Baynes wrote to Governor Murray upon the subject, as I do not, nor is Genl Gage quite clear, whether his Commission as Governor of the Province of Quebec, is come or not, or what powers Governor Murray may have sent him, from home. As such, I have not, nor shall not, take any steps in regard to the Raising, or Equiping the two Companys, which is proposed to be the Quater for this part of the Government until I hear from Governor Murray.

I am Sr.

your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

Col. Haldimand.

Endorsed Col. Burton
7e Mars 64
9 do.

(16)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B., VOL. 6, p. 130

Aux differents Capes de Milice du Govt. des 3 R.
le 7 Mars 64.

Monsieur,

Sa Majesté n'ayant rien Autant à Coeur que le bonheur de Ces Peuples; & Afin de le leurs Asseurer plus efficacement, Ayant ressollu d'assembler un Corps des Troupes Cosiderable de troupes, pour détromper les Indiens sur les Esperances ridicules que des Gens ignorants & mal Intentionnés ou sémé parmi eux, leur faisant Croire le retour des Français dans ce Pays possible, et enfin s'il est trouvé nécessaire de les forcé à une paix stable qui asseurant la tranquillité de Ces Sujets leur fournisse les Moyens de Cultiver paisiblement leurs terres, & de profiter de tous les Avantages d'un Commerce libre.

En Consequence de Cette Resollution je Viens de recevoir des Lettres Requisitoires de la part de S:Ex:Mons. le Gl. Gage Commandant en Chef des Troupes de S:M:en Amerique du Nord, me demandant une Compagnie formée des Sujets du Roy dans le Gouvernement des 3 Rivières pour etre employée Conjointement Avec les troupes Regullieres; & Celles des autres Provinces, à remplir les Ordres de S: Majesté des que la Saison le permettra.

Ayant donc Concidéré murement sur le Moyen le plus efficace pr le Service du Roy la reputation de ce Gouvernement & le soulagement des peuples, j'ay jugé à propos de ne demander que des Jeunes Gens dispoets et Vollontaires, c'est pourquoy je vous ordonne par la presente, que vous ayes à ressembler immediatement Votre Compagnie de Milice, afin de leur lire le present Ordre, & de formér Une Liste de Ceux qui se presenteront Vollontairement, que Vous aurés à M'envoyer sur le champ par Un de Vos Officiers, afin que vous puissiez recevoir mes Ordres Ulterieurs.

Ne doutant point que le zeles des habitants pour le Service d'un Maitre, dont ils ont déjà éprouvé autant de bienfaits; n'en engage beaucoup plus à se presenter qu'il ne sera besoin, je me propose de ne choisir parmi eux, que Ceux qui peuvent s'abssenter avec le moins d'Inconvenient pour leur famille, & Ces Gens étant mis sur le même pied que les autres Provintieaux, seront armés et payée de même, et recevront la même ration, du jour de leur depart des Trois Rivières jusques à leur Retour.

Esperant que vous mettres tous vos Soins pour ne me présenter que de bons Sujets, qui me fassent honneur et au Gouvernement des 3 Rs. Vous pouvés les asseurer que je mettray tous mes Soins, pour qu'ils recoivent un traitement dont je suis persuadé qu'ils auront lieu d'etre tous Satisfaits.

Je demeure avec cette Assurance
Monsr.

Votre tres obeissant &c.

(Translation)

To the Captns. of Militia in the Govt. of 3 R.

Sir:—

His Majesty having nothing more at heart than the welfare of this people, and in order to secure it more effectively having determined to assemble a considerable body of troops to dispel the ridiculous Hopes which ignorant and ill-disposed Persons have spread among the Indians, making them Believe that the return of the French into this Country was possible, and eventually if it be found necessary to compel them to conclude a permanent peace which will ensure the tranquillity of These subjects, furnish them the means of peaceably cultivating their lands and of benefitting by all the advantages of a free Trade.

In Consequence of This Decision I have received a Requisition from His. Excy. G1. Gage, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops in North America demanding from me a Company composed of Subjects of the King in the Government of 3 Rivers to be employed in Conjunction with Regular Troops, and Those of other Provinces to put in execution the orders of His Majesty while the Season permits.

Having then carefully Considered the most effective Method for the service of the King, the reputation of the Government and the welfare of the people I have deemed proper to call for young men only who are disposed to become Volunteers, this is why I order you for the present to assemble immediately Your Company of Militia in order to read them the present Order and prepare A List of those who offer themselves Voluntarily which you will send to me instantly by One of Your Officers so that you may receive my Final Orders.

Doubting not that the zeal of the Inhabitants for the Service of a Master, from whom they have already received so many favors will induce many more to offer themselves than are needed, I propose only to select from among them Those whose absence will cause the least Inconvenience to their families & These Persons being placed on the same footing as the other Provincials will be armed and paid the same way and will receive the same ration from the day of their departure from Three Rivers until their Return.

Hoping that you will take the utmost Care to send me only good Subjects who will do honor to the Government of 3 Rs., You may assure them that I will take every Care that they shall receive such treatment as I am persuaded they will have reason to be satisfied with.

I remain with this Assurance,

Sir,

Your very obedient &c.,

(Translation)

Circular to Captains of Militia (District of Montreal)

Sir:—Although I have already informed you by word of mouth of the care His Majesty takes to ensure the welfare of his subjects and the firm resolution he has formed to bring back to reason some Indian Nations, whose ill will has become manifest by treason and violence and to oblige them to conclude a stable peace which ensures the resumption of an advantageous trade and tranquillity so necessary to his people, I have believed it my duty to inform you with this purpose the Government has decided to attach five companies of Canadians to the troops who are to be employed to secure this object. These companies will be composed of sixty men each. Two will be raised in the Government of Quebec, two in that of Montreal and one in that of Three Rivers and will be commanded by Canadian officers, only those men will be enlisted in these Companies who will have decided of their own free will to remain under the dominion of His Britannic Majesty.

To recognise and reward the good will of those who enroll themselves, twelve piastres in money will be given to each Volunteer; they will be given a capote, two pairs of Indian Shoes and a pair of mittens. They will be provided with arms, ammunition and provisions during the whole of the campaign. They pay assigned to each man will be six pence English money per day, and care will be taken to have a priest accompany them to perform the functions of his ministry.

The service of these Volunteers will end with the Campaign, after which every one will be free to return to his home.

Such a measure on the part of the Government shows much confidence in His Majesty's Subjects. It has a right to expect that they will respond to it not only by great willingness to enlist but great fidelity in maintaining their engagements in

all circumstances in which the good of the service will place them. At least they ought to do this as much through honor and duty as through gratitude and zeal for their own interest.

While waiting until you can publish this ordinance nexxt Sunday at the church door you will take care as far as in your power to make it public, but above all among your young men so that they may become acquainted with all the conditions offered them.

(Sulte. Histoire de La Milice
Canadienne-Francaise
1760-1897 pp. 100-11.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B. VOL. 6—p. 134.

Quebec 9th March 1764.

Dear Sir,

I was honored with your favor by Mr. Maturell, I am very glad, indeed, that you have not draughted the Militia, because I am certain that Cannot be done consistent with the Treaty of Peace, Genl. Gage should know the Law of his Country, and he should know, that even allowing the 18 months for the Emigration of the Canadians had expired, without an Order from His Majesty, the Militia of this Province, cannot be march out of it; he in the present case (as it was necessary all the Companys should be upon a footing) Should have given positive directions for forming Cloathing, Officering and Subsisting the Corps or he should have left the business, to one or other of us, for it is clare that three men agree, however, to be plain with you Sir! I have reported this whole affair to His Majesty, that the like Confusion may never again happen in any part of his Dominions. I dare say the Minister will think it strange that any difficulties, should at present occur about Command, Govr. Burton is acquainted by the Secretary of State, that he was by Commission, in August last appointed Lt. Govr. of Trois Rivières; he knows, & so do you, that his Majesty by his Royal Proclamation, of the 7th Octr. united to my Government the inhabited parts of that Trois Rivières, and Montreal, & stiled the whole, the Province of Quebec; You and Mr. Burton have Certainly seen, my Old Commission of Govr. of Quebec, and its dependencies; Quere, Should not my authority by Virtue of that Commission, extend, over what has been lately added to the Dependencies of Quebec? I am not so fond of power, as to dispute Points of this sort, unless I find it absolutely necessary for my Masters Service. —

I hope when you hear from General Amherst, you will find he has not forgot you; and that he had much to say in settling the arrangements for North America. Whatever money may be necessary for the Executing of my Plan, relative to your Company of Canadians, shall be issued to you here.—

I am with great Truth and Regard

Dear Sir!

Your most Obedt. and most humble servant.

Ja: Murray.

P.S. I am so ill, I'm obliged to make use of Capts' Shirreffs' Pen which I hope you will excuse.

(Endorsed)

Colonel Haldimand—

Gl. Murray 9th March 64. 10th d to

(18)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B., VOL. 6—p. 132.

Gel. Murray

Le 9e Mars 1764.

Memo.

Le Capt. Brown qui arriva hier au soir ma remis les Lettres que Vous me faites l'honneur de m'adresser, j'ay, Cachetté, et expédié par exprés Celles pour le Col. Burton, il les recevra Certainement aujourd'huy de bon heure.

Je suis charmé Mons. de Connaitre Vos idées, sur la levée que nous devons faire, dans Votre Province, je les Suivray exactement, dans ce Gouvernement, tant sur la façon de les lèver que de la payer &c. Mais comme je Crois que nous pouvons encore regarder Ce Gouvernement Comme Militaire; au Cas qu'il ne se presentat pas assés de Volontaires, malgré l'engagement qu'on leur offre, je Crois dis-je que Nous Sommes en droit de les Commandér, avec cette difference que Ceux qui se declaroient Sujet du Roy de France, ne pourroient point etre forcé à Servir dans Ce Corps; je Serois Charmé de Savoir Votre Sentiment la dessus. Comme le temps est fort Court peut etre seroit on forcé d'avoir recours à cette methode.

J'usques icy je n'ay rien fait, que de Charger (comme j'ay eu l'honneur de Vous Marquer dans ma dernière) les Cape. de Milisse, de rassembler leurs jeunes Gens de leurs Paroisses et d'y demander des Volontaires dont ils doivent m'envoyer les noms, dimanche et Lundy, Contant dans l'intervalle de recevoir de Vos Lettres; J'avais une Publication prette qui est presque comme Celle que Vous m'avez envoyée, excepté que je n'y offrais point d'engagement J'y ajouterai Cet Article, qui fera j'espere un bon effet. Je Vous avoue Monsr. que je suis surpris que Monsr. le Gl. Gage, qui Connoit si bien Notre Situation ny se soit pas entré par quelque détails; ou des Ordres qui auroient facilité l'Ouvrage; J'ay lu avec plaisir La lettre que Vous lui adressés sur Ce Sujet. Je ne puis rien lui écrire de mieux, et comme il est naturel que nous agissions tous de Même & que d'un jour à l'autre vous devez vous attendre à être chargé de tout le travail, et que le Corps Soit sur le même pied; je me refereray à Vos idées dans la Lettre; que je vais lui écrire aujourd'huy;

Je Vais nommer un office pour Inscrire les Papiers du Canada suivant vos directions. Et j'espere que tout sera finy pour le temps marqué.

Je charge le Col: Brown de m'envoyer un habilmt. Complet tel que Vous Vous proposés de le donner,

du 9e Mars 64 par le Capt. Brown.

Au Genl. Murray.

(Translation)

9th March, 1764.

Genl. Murray.

Memo.

Capt. Brown who arrived yesterday evening has given me the Letters you have done me the honour to address to me, I have read, Sealed, and despatched by an express Those for Col. Burton, he will certainly receive them early to-day.

I am delighted, Sir, to Know your views on the levy you are about to make in your Province. I will follow them strictly in this Government, as well in the method of recruiting as in paying, &c., But as I believe we may still regard This Government as Military, in the event that a sufficient number of Volunteers do not offer themselves I Believe, I say, that we Have the right to Command them, with this provision that Those who declare themselves Subjects of the King of France cannot be compelled to Serve in This Corps: I will be delighted to Know your opinion. As the time is very Short, resort to this method may be forced upon us.

So far I have done nothing except to Instruct (as I have had the honour to Inform you in my last) the Capts of Militia to assemble the young men in their Parishes and to call for Volunteers, whose names they are to send to me on Sunday and Monday, Expecting in the mean time to receive your Letters: I had a Publication ready which is almost the same as That which you have sent to me, except that I offered no Bounty. I will add That Paragraph which I hope will have a good effect. I confess Sir, that I am surprised that Gl. Gage who Knows so well our Situation, should not have entered into some details, or given Orders which would have facilitated the Work. I have read with pleasure the letter which you addressed to him on This Subject I can write nothing better to him, and as it is natural that we should act in the Same way, and that from day to day you should expect to be charged with the entire labor, and that the Corps may be upon the same footing, I will refer to your ideas in the Letter I am about to write to him to-day.

I shall Establish an office to make a Register of the Deeds in Canada according to your directions, And I hope all will be completed by the time fixed.

I am directing Col. Brown to send me a Complete outfit such as you propose to give him.

To Genl. Murray.

9th March 64, by Capt. Brown.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES, B. 2 pt. II. p. 2 & 3.

21662—F 121

Trois Rivières le 9^{me} Mars 1764.

Monsieur:

Je reçus le 3^{me} de ce mois la Lettre Requisitoire de Votre Excellence du 12 fevrier par Ou Elle demande Une Compagnie de Provitieaux de ce Gouvernement, pour en Conjonction avec les Troupes Regulieres Et les autres Provitieaux etre employee à mettre les Sauvages à la raison.

Considerant encore ce Gouvernement come Militaire je me proposois Monsr. pour remplir vos Intentions; de demander des Vollandaires dans Chaque Paroisse; Et s'il ne S'en etoit pas présenté Un nombre suffisant pour former Cette Compagnie, de Commander Un certain nombre dhomes dans Chaque Compagnie de Milisse; J'avois meme déjà donné des Ordres Verbalement à Ce Sujet, Mais je reçus Une Lettre de Mr. Le Gouver. Murray qui me fait envisager la Chose differement; Ce Raisons me paroissant plausibles et plus Conformes du Sistème du Gouvernement, je me rend a Son Advis; Et Come il Convient pour le bien du Service que le Battn. soit sur le meme pied; je publieray Une Ordonnance en offrant les memes avantages que Monsr. Murray fait à Quebec; Et mettray tous mes Soins pour que la Compagnie soit rendue à Mt Real Avant la fonte des glaces Je tireray sur le Trésorier à Quebec pour les despenses nécessaires; dont votre Excellence aura la bonté d'Ordonner; puisqu'elles deviennent inevitables pour le Service du Roy; tout ce Gouvernement ensemble ne fourniroit pas aux fraix de l'enrollement de 20 homes, la pauvreté n'en est pas concevable & Augmente tous les jours.

Monsr. Murray m'envoye la Copie d'une Lettre que My Lord Hallifax lui Addressée du 10 Xbre par ou S.M. ordonne qu'on fasse Un nouveau Bordereau des Papiers de ce Pays, Ou Chaque propriétaire doit Specifier la façon dont il a acquis Ce Papier, Celui qui s'est vendu depuis la Signature de la paix, à qui et à quel déconte; Je feray toutes les Recherches possibles Sur ce Sujet

J'ay l'honneur d'etre Avec un parfait dévouement

Monsieur

de Votre Excellence

Le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

Fred: Haldimand

(Addressed)

A.S. Ex: Monsr. Le Gl. Gage

(Endorsed)

Au Genl. Gage du 9 Mars 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 9th March, 1764.

Sir:—

On the third of this month I received Your Excellency's Requisition of the 12th February by which you demand a Company of Provincials from this Government to be employed in Conjunction with Regular Troops and other Provincials to bring the Indians to reason.

Still considering this as a military Government I intend, Sir, to comply with your wishes, to call for Volunteers in Every Parish, and if a sufficient number do not offer to form This Company, to Command a certain number of men from each Company of Militia: I had even already given orders Verbally on This Subject, But I received yesterday A Letter from Gov'n'r Murray which made me look at the matter differently. These Reasons appeared plausible and more in Conformity with the System of Government, I accept his Advice, and as it seems for the good of the Service that the Battn should be on the same footing: I will publish an ordinance offering the same advantages as Mr. Murray has done at Quebec; and shall take every Care that the Company may proceed to Mt. Real Before the ice breaks up I will draw on the Treasurer at Quebec for the necessary expenses, which your Excellency will have the goodness to sanction; since they become indispensable for the King's Service; the whole of this Government together could not meet the cost of the enrollment of 20 men; its poverty is inconceivable & increases daily.

Mr. Murray has sent me a Copy of a Letter addressed to him by My Lord Hallifax of 10 October by which H.M. orders the preparation of A new Schedule of the Papers (Title deeds?) of this County, in which Every Proprietor must specify the manner in

which he has obtained such Deed, what he has sold since the Signature of the peace, to whom, and at what price: I will make all Inquiries possible on this Subject.

I have the honour to be with a perfect devotion

Sir,

Your Excellency's
very humble and very obedient Servant,
Fred Haldimand.

(Addressed)

To. H. Ex. Gl. Gage

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Gage, 9th March, 64.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES, B. VOL. 6, p. 136

Quebec 11th March 1764.

Dear Sir,

The Bearer will deliver to you a Capot a pair of Leggings and a pair of Shoes such as we give here to the Canadian Volunteers, I have settled the pay as follows. The Major three dollars pr. day, a Captain two ditto a Lieut. one ditto, a Serjeant one shilling; Hallifax Currency or the fifth of a dollar—a Corporal eight pence said currency, and to a soldier sixpence or the tenth of a dollar, they enter upon pay and provisions the day they enlist—I have appointed two Lieuts. to each company & no Ensign—I beg my Compts to Mrs. Gage and Metrail and am with the utmost regard

Dr. Sir,

Your most obedient &
most humble Servant

Ja: Murray,

Coll. Haldimand

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray

11 Mars 64.

19do. par Express.

(21)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS SERIES, B. VOL. 6, p. 137.

Quebec 11th March 1764.

Dr. Sir,

I have the honour of your Letter by Capt. Brown; the Post will bring to you a pattern of the Capote, Mittoose, & Shoes I give the Volunteers raised here; I am sorry you apprehended any difficulty in procuring Volunteers for one Company in your District, it shews a bad will, I do not like; it cannot however affect the king's Service for one thousand more than I want may be had here & to make up your Company you may have recourse to this part of the Province, I inclose a Copy of the Commissions I give it will probably be right they should all be in the same Stile. A Monsr. de Chassy formerly an Officer in the Troupes de Colonie will be glad to be employed by you as Capt. if you have nobody in your Govt. who will accept. Brown tells me you have scruples whether or not these Gentlemen having only leave of absence from the Court of France can serve on this Occasion with propriety, If they take the Oath I had the honor to enclose to you in a former letter, these scruples must be removed; as they then become British Subjects; and with regard to the Court of France, on that head, the Treaty of Peace must silence any objection made from that quarter, for it is by that treaty stipulated that every Canadian without exception may choose whether or not he is to become a Subject of Britain, consequently if to be a British Subject, is his choice, he is *ipso facto*, dismissed or if you will, liberated from his engagements to the Crown of France.

I have the honor to be Dr. Sir,

Your most obedient &
most humble Servt.

Ja: Murray.

Coll. Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray du 11 Mars 4.

12me par Hogan.

(22)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Volume II., p. 103.

Quebec 17me Mars 1764.

Monsieur,

Le refus que vous faites de Commander le Corps de Volontaires Canadiens, m'est infiniment sensible pour deux raisons, La Première est que ce Corps ne pouvoit qui faire des merveilles sous vos ordres, La Seconde est que ce refus ne pourra manquer de procurer votre Avancement a la Cour de France, est qu'en Bon Sujet de sa Majestie Britannique, Je ne doit pas souhaiter que des Officiers de votre merite soient avancé dans de Service d'un Prince qui dans la Suite des années peut encore devenir notre ennemi: Vous voyés, Monsieur! que je parle ici en Patriote, car si je ne Consul-tois que les Inclinations de mon Cœur Je ne pourrois qu'etre extremement flatte de voir le merite recompencé et d'y avoir Contribue.

J'ai L'honneur d'etre avec Estime

Monsieur

Votre Ec.

J. M.

Monsr. Repentigny.

(Translation)

Quebec, 17th March, 1764.

Sir:—

Your refusal to Command the Corps of Canadian Volunteers, has greatly grieved me for two reasons, The First, is that this Corps must have done wonders under your orders. The Second is that this refusal cannot fail to procure your Advancement at the Court of France, As a Good Subject of his Britannic Majesty I cannot wish to see Officers of your merit promoted in the Service of a Prince who in the Course of time may become our enemy. You see Sir, that I speak now as a Patriot, for if I Consulted only the Feelings of my Heart, I could only be greatly pleased to see merit rewarded and to have Contributed thereto.

I have the Honor to be,
with Esteem your &c.,
J. M.

Monsr. Repentigny.

(23)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 9, p. 52.

Trois Rivières le 29e Mars 164.

Monsieur

J'avois offert une Lieutenance a un jeune Monsr. Linckto, qui demeure a Mont Real; je ne Sais par quel accident Sa reponce ne M'est pas encorre parvenue peut hetre Monsr étoit déjà employé dans Vos. Compagnies dans ce Cas je me feray un plaisir d'appointer Monsr. Houtlass dans celle cy, je le lui ay fait écrire; J'espère que Vous Aures reçu le Modèle de l'habillemt Canadien par Monsr. Nordberg. Il ne s'est présenté jusques aprésent qu'une 20ne de Volontaires, Mais les officiers sont allé dans les Paroisses, ou j'espère qu'ils auront quelques Succes; il est surprenant que les 12 piastres d'engagemt qu'on leurs offre, paroît devenir un opstacle plustot qu'un encouragement ils se figurent qu'ils seront engagés pour le Vie, & il est bien difficile de leur persuadé le Contraire; & C'est sans doute cette raison qui leur fait Souhaitter d'etre Comandé plustôt que de s'offrir volontairement; Je prevois Monsr. que si les Gens sont obligés de rester quelques temps aux environs de Mt Real avant que de pouvoir partir, ils vous donnerons plus d'ambaras que des Troupes réglées. Si vous Souhaittés Monsr je les garderay icy, jusques a ce que Vous me marquez le temps ou vous pouvés les employer.

J'ai l' honneur d'etre

(Translation)

Original Draft
Three Rivers, 20th March, 1764.

Sir:—

I had offered a Lieutenantcy to a young Mr. Linckto who resides at Mont. Real. I do not know by what accident his reply has not yet reached me, perhaps this Gentleman was already employed in your Companies, in which case it will give me pleasure to appoint Mr. Hontlass in this one. I have written this to him; I hope you have Received the sample of the Canadian outfit by Mr. Nordberg. So far only 20 Volunteers have come forward. But the officers have gone into the Parishes, where I hope they will have some success; it is surprising that the bounty of 12 piastres offered to them seems to become an obstacle rather than an encouragement they suspect that they will be enlisted for Life, & it is very difficult to persuade them to the Contrary; & It is undoubtedly this reason which has made them Desire to be Commanded rather than to offer themselves voluntarily: I foresee, Sir, that if the men are obliged to remain any time in the vicinity of Mt. Real before leaving they will give you more trouble than regular Troops. If you wish, Sir, I will keep them here until you name the time when you can employ them.

(24)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B. VOL. 6. p. 153.

Je ne Saurais laisser partir le jeune Montesson Sans Vous faire Connaitre Monr. le Zele avec lequel Son Pere a themoigné Sa Satisfaction, du partis qu'il a pris; Lui Même prendroit Avec plaisir le Commandement de Cette Compagnie S'il etoit necessaire; Mais Comme il Se presente d'autres jeunes Gens, plus propres pour les fatigues attachées a Ce Grade; je lui tiens grand Conte de Sa bonne Vollonté, et je donneray la Compagnie à Mr. de Mt. Isamberg?

J'ay Cru M'appercevoir que le reussiroy Mieux dans la levée, en ne pas themoignant trop d'empressement, j'ay fait Connoître dans les Paroisses l'encouragement que les Vollontaires peuvent espérer, et j'apprens qu'ils Calculent au Coin de leur feu, à Combien se montera, leur pays pour Six Mois Avec le 12 Piastres d'engagement, et ils trouvent que f180 argent de france, fait une grosse Somme Aujourd'huy, demain je feray public la proclamation afin qu'ils en Soyent assureé et quelques jours Après, lorsqu'ils auront éu le temps de faire des projets dans leurs Imaginations avec Ces 180. J'envoyray des Enrolleurs parmis eux, et je ne doute point que je ne forme la Compagnie pr. le temps prescript.

Metral qui arrive me remet la Lettre que Vous me faites l'hon: de Mécirre du 10. J'espère que Vous aurés Celle dont Brown etoit Chargé, et que Vous Serés bien persuadé que je Me feray un devoir de Concourir avec Vous en tout ce qui Sera pour le bien du Service.

Je Viens d'écrire Au Genl. Gage que je me Conformeroy entieremt. à Votre plan pour la levée de Cette Compagne.

Au Genl. Murray.

(Translation)

I cannot allow young Montesson to leave without letting you Know, Sir, the Zeal with which His Father has testified His Satisfaction at the decision he has made; He would take the Command of This Company with pleasure Himself; If it became necessary; But as he nominates other young men better fitted for the exertions required from an officer of that Rank; I shall Thank him warmly for His good Will, and give the Company to Mr. de Mt. Isamberg.

I have come to the conclusion that I shall succeed Better with the levy by not showing to much anxiety, I have made Known in the Parishes the Bounty that the Volunteers may expect, and I learn that they are Counting up by their Firesides How Much their pay for Six Months with the bounty of 12 Piastres, will amount to and they find that f180 in French money is a large sum now-a-days; to-morrow I will publish a proclamation so that they may feel Sure and some days Afterwards when they have had time to make plans in their minds for spending These 180 I shall send Recruiters among them and I doubt not that I shall be able to form the Company within the prescribed time.

Metral has arrived and given me the Letter you did me the honor to write me on the 10. I hope that you will have received That with which Brown was charged and

that you will be fully convinced that I will make it a duty to concur with you in everything that will Be for the good of the Service.

I am writing to Genl. Gage that I shall conform entirely to your plan in raising this Company.

To Genl. Murray.

(25)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 9, p. 53.

Montreal Mar: 22. 1764.

Sr

I was yesterday favored with your letter, of the 20th where Monsr Linckto is, I know not: I know this, that he is starveing, and has not ofered his Service here. I kept a vacancy for Monsr Richerville; hearing that he was employed by you, I have given that Lieutce to Monsr Houtlass.

The Recruits here do not come in so fast as I could wish, however I hope to have them Compleat by the time the River is navigable, which I believe will not be, before the latter end of April the moveing up of your Company will I supose depend upon those of Quebec. I shall write to Governor Murray and acquaint him when we think the River will be navigable. I received by Lieu: Nordberg the Capot &c. I look dayly for the Jany. Packet, which it is to be hoped will clear up, many matters.

I am &c

Your most obedt. humble Servant

R. Burton.

Col. Haldimand

Endorsed Col. Burton

22 Mars 64. ,

(26)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS, SERIES B. 2. pt. II. p. 5.

21662.F.122.

New York March 22d. 1764.

Sir,

.....
.....
I now must acknowledge Your Favor of the 9th inst. which I have just received by the Hands of Lieut. Hazen in answer to my Letter of Requisition of the 12th of February. The method you designed to take was certainly the surest, conformable to the Custom of the Country; nor does it deviate from our Constitution to take men from the Militia. The Province of New-York has draughted the Militia the greatest part of the War, to compose their Provincial Troops; you undoubtedly do right to follow the Example of the other Governments; in which I wish you may Succeed & raise Your Company.

.....
.....
I am with great Regard

Sir,

Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Thos. Gage.

(Endorsed)

Gen. Gage du 22e.

Mars 64

10 Avril.

(27)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6.—p. 141.

Quebec, 22d March 1764.

Dear Sir!

As Governor Burton writes to me that he finds great difficulty in raising Volunteers in his Government; and I see little prospect of being able to give any assistance from this, I have freely communicated to him my Opinion of what should be done; Was I to conceal my Notions of this affair from you, you might with great Justice blame me, and therefore I take the Liberty to leave my Letter to Mr. Burton open for your perusal, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal it, and forward it by the Bearer Mr. Vealars.—

I am most sincerely

Your most faithful humble Servant

Col: Haldimand

Ja: Murray.

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray du 22e Mars 64.

24. dto.

(28)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B., Vol. 27, pp. 77-8.

A Quebec ce 22e Mars, 1764.

Aux Capitaines des Milices des Paroisses au dessus de Quebec.

Monsieur,

J'avais fait publier une proclamation par laquelle j'invitais les Canadiens a former une Corps de Volontaires, destinees a aller conclure la Paix avec les Sauvages; j'etais en droit d'attendre que cette Invitation suffirait pour determiner leur bonne volonte, le succes n'a point repondre a mon attente. Les Paroisses situees au dessus de Quebec ont montre un eloignement qui me surprend. Je vous done avis: Monsieur, si elles persistent dans ces sentiment et que si chacune d'entre elles ne fournit pas de plein gre a proportion de la multitude de ses habitants le nombre d'hommes suffisant pour completer deux Compagnies, je serai oblige de doner des ordres pour faire ces enrrollements, et pour lever autant de Miliciens que les Besoins du Service le demanderont; Je ne m'entendrai point a ce coup d'autorite. Je depouillerais de leurs armes tous les habitants de la Paroisses a comencer par les officiers de Milice, les gens qui refusent de s'en servir pour le Bien public ne meritent d'en avoir l'usage pour leur Interet personnel; Je priverai de plus ces engages par contrainst de toute gratification Il est triste pour moi d'en venir a ces extremities, mais il est plus triste encore que vous miliciens le meritent. C'est a vous, Monsieur, a les redresser & a leur inspirer des sentiments que l'honneur, la reconnaissance et leur propre interet demandent d'eux.

Je suis, Monsier,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

Jas. Murray.

Come il est necessaire d'avoir recours a la milice pour la quote part des Troupes que la Province doit fournir pour le Service du Roy, il vous est ordone par ces presentes de tirer cinquante homes des compagnies de milice des Paroisses a comencer a Beaumont jusqu'a Cap de St. Ignace; en cas que dans les dites Paroisses, il ne se trouve vingt volontaires, qui veuillent servir pendant la campagne aux Conditions marquees dans ma Proclamation du six du courant.

Done a Quebeck ce 22e Mars 1764.

Jas. Murray.

(Translation)

Quebec, 22nd March, 1764.

To the Captains of Militia
in the Parishes above Quebec.

Sir,
I have published a proclamation by which I invited the Canadians to raise a Corps of Volunteers destined to make peace with the Indians; I had the right to expect that this Invitation would be enough to induce their good will; Its success has not answered my expectations. The Parishes above Quebec have shown a disinclination

which surprises me. I must warn you, Sir, that if they persist in these views, and that if each of them does not furnish in proportion to its inhabitants the number of men needed to complete two companies, I shall be obliged to give orders for the enrollment and drafting as many Militia men as the Service requires. I shall not stop at this exercise of authority. I shall deprive all the inhabitants of the Parish of their Arms, beginning with the militia Officers, people who refuse to employ them for the public good do not deserve to have the use of them for their personal benefit; Moreover, I will deprive drafted men of all bounty. It grieves to take such extreme measures, but it grieves me still more that you Militia men deserve them. It is your duty, Sir, to remedy this and inspire them with such sentiments as are demanded by honour, gratitude, and their own interest.

I am,
Sir,
Your very humble Servant.
(Sgd) Jas. Murray.

As it is necessary to have recourse to the Militia for the quota of troops which the Province is to furnish for the King's Service, you are ordered by these presents to draft fifty men from the Militia Companies of the Parishes beginning at Beaumont as far as Cap. de. St. Ignace; in the event that the said Parishes fail to furnish 20 Volunteers who agree to serve during the Campaign on the conditions stated in my Proclamation of the 6th instant.

Given at Quebec this 22nd March, 1764.

(Sgd) Jas. Murray.

(29)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY TO BURTON.
Vol. II, p. 104.

Quebec 22d March 1764.

Dear Burton!

Your favors of the 18th and 16th Instant I had the pleasure to receive this Day.

If Mr. Hughes is Determined to Sacrifice himself for one months enjoyment, his friends can only regret his misfortune. I believe no body has it in his power to prevent it. I am sure he will hereafter wish he had profited of the Humain Delay you Occasioned, and will think himself for ever obliged to you. Thank God the matrimonial Distemper has not yet reached us at Quebec, if ever it shall, I know of no Remedy; for I cannot suppose the Laws of Ireland can be of any force, out of that Kingdom, where you know an Officer who marries a Roman Catholick is ipso-facto dismissed from the Service.

At first our Recruiting went on briskly, but latterly the people have got it into their heads, that by taking money, and Voluntary inlisting, they were lyable to remain Soldiers while they lived, from this Reasoning I shall with difficulty, be able to Compleat our two Companys, but if I am put to it, I shall make no Scruple to draw the few I want from the Jeune Gens, and to that end I have made the inclosed preparations, which I take the Liberty to Inclose to you, that if you find it necessary, and think the Expedient proper, you may do the Same!

I am Dear Burton
Your's &c.
J. M.

Gouv. Burton.

(30)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6—p. 142.

Trois Rivières le 23e Mars 176.

Monsieur,

Les Recrues ne se presentent pas icy avec tout l'empressement que je Souhaiteraï, Cette Ville (qui est moindre qu'un Village) ne me fournit aucune ressource de ce Cotté la; et il s'est rependu des bruits dans les Paroisses qui empechent la jeunesse de s'offrir; ils se figurent qu'ils vont etre engagés pour la Vie, et se font

Mille autres Chimères, qu'aucun raisonnement ne peut détruire, et jusqu'à present je n'ay pas encore la Moitié de la Compagnie. Cependant je me flatte toujours qu'Elle sera Complete pour le temps ou la Rivière deviendra Navigable; J'ay suivi Votre Exemple au Sujet des Curés, et il me parait qu'ils sont bien disposés à encourager Cette levée/

(Endorsed) Au Genl. Murray
du 23e Mars 1764.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 23rd March, 1764.

Sir:—

Recruits do not present themselves here with all the readiness that I Hoped, This Town (which is smaller than a Village) furnished me no resources in that respect, and reports have been spread in the Parishes which prevent the young men from volunteering; they imagine they will be enlisted for Life: and a thousand other absurd Stories are invented which no reasoning can destroy, and at present I have not yet one Half the company: However I flatter myself that It will be Complete by the Time the River becomes Navigable. I have followed your Example in Respect to Curés and it seems to me that they are well disposed to encourage This levy.

(Endorsed) To Genl. Murray.
23rd March, 1764.

(31)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.
Series B. Vol. 9, p. 54.

Col. Burton du 24 Mars 64.

Mr.

Je reçois dans Ce Moment une Lettre de Mr. le Gouvern Murray avec le remede aux difficultés qui se rencontrent pour trouver des Volontaires. Je suivray exactement Son Exemple la dedans Sil en est de besoin.

Jay lh:

Original Draft

Endorsed Au Col. Burton
du 24 Mars 64.

(Translation)

Col. Burton, 24th March, 64.

Sir:—

I receive this Instant a Letter from Govr. Murray with the remedy for the difficulties met with in obtaining Volunteers. I shall strictly follow His Example therein If necessary.

I have, &c.,

(Endorsed)
To Col. Burton.
24th March. — 64.

(32)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B.2. pt. II. p. 6 & 7.

21662-F. 124.

Trois Rivières, le 25e Mars 1764.

Monsieur,

L'Ordonnance que nous avons fait publier dans cette Province, Au sujet de la levée des Canadiens que Votre Excellence demande pour le Service de la Campagne, n'a pas eû tout le Succès qu'on en attendoit; Ces peuples accoutumés à Servir par Obligation, & à être Comandés; Surpris de voir qu'on leur offroit de l'argent; Se Sont forgés Mille Chimères, ils se figurent qu'ils vont etre soldat pour la vie; qu'ils vont etre menés dans nos Collonies dont ils ne reviendront jamais &c &c &c;—Et ce qui Surprendroit le plus des gens qui ne Connoissent pas ce Pays, C'est que les idees fait impression sur les Canadiens de

21662-F. 125. tout Ordre, quoyque plusieurs fassant leur possible pour le dissimuler; Monsr. Murray ne se figuroit point ces difficultés quoiqu'il marquoit dans Une de ces Lettres, que Si le Roy avoit besoin de Milles Volontaires outre Son Contingent il les trouveroit facilement dans Son District, sans doute il se le figuroit alors par la facilité avec le quelle on avoit d'abord enrollé Un certain nombre de gens désœuvrés dans la ville; Mais les Gens de la Campagne les plus propres pour Une expedition, ne se sont pas présentés avec la même facilité Et je reçus hier Une Lettre de Monsr. Murray, ou il me marque que s'il ne trouve pas assés de Volontaires; il ne se fera aucun Scrupule de tirer des hommes hors de la Milisse pour Completter les deux Compagnies; Et je Crois qu'il doit avoir publié une Ordonnance à cet Effet, Je Suivray son Exemple Monsieur, si j'y suis forcé mais ayant déjà 45, bons homes, j'espère de pouvoir prévenir Cette extremitté; Et etre en état d'envoyer la Compagnie à Mt. Real pour le temps ou la Rivière sera navigable, J'ay donné le Commandemt. de cette Compagnie à Monsr. de Montisamberg L. des Troupes de la Collonie, qui à été passé 20 année dans la belle Rivière, ou il à Epousé une allemande que vous avés eû occasion de voir à Mt. Real il a pr. Lt. Un Mr. de Richerville, Aussi de la Colonie & un Mr. Smitt qui a toujours été employé avec les Milisses;

Je m'impatiente tous les jours plus de voir arriver les Reglements pour Ce Pays; Je joins icy le Retour du Mois, ou je n'ay pas Compris les Canadiens parceque n'étant pas tous rassemblés icy Je ne saurois en Asseurer positivement le nombre

J'ay l'honneur d'etre avec un parfait
devoement

Monsieur
De Votre Excellence le tres humble Et
tres obeissant serviteur
Fred Haldimand.

(Addressed)
H. Ex: Gl. Gage.
(Endorsed)
Au Gl. Gage. 25 Mars 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 25th March, 1764.

Sir:—

The Ordinance we have published in this Province on the Subject of the levy of Canadians which Your Excellency requires for Service in the Field has not had all the Success which was expected. These people, accustomed to Serve from Obligation and to be Commanded; Surprised to see that they are offered money; invent a Thousand and absurd stories; they imagine that they will be made soldiers for life, that they will be taken away to our Colonies and will never return, &c., &c., &c. And what will Surprise most people who do not Know this Country, is that these ideas have made an impression upon Canadians of all Ranks, although some of them do their best to conceal it; Mr. Murray did not anticipate these difficulties when he stated to me in One of his Letters that If the King needed a Thousand Volunteers besides his Contingent he could easily find them in his District, undoubtedly he was misled by the facility with which they had at first enrolled A certain number of people in the town who were out of work; But the people from the Country, best fitted for an expedition have not come forward, with the same readiness. And I received yesterday A Letter from Mr. Murray in which he observes that if he does not obtain enough Volunteers, he will have no Scruples in drafting men from the Militia to complete the two Companies and I Believe that he will have published an Ordinance to that Effect; I will follow his Example if I am forced to it but having already 45 good men I hope to be able to avoid This extremity, and to be in a position to send this Company to Mt. Real by the time the River will be navigable. I have given the Command of this Company to Mr. de Montisamberg Lt. of the Colony Troops, who has lived for 20 years on the Ohio River where he married a German, whom you had an opportunity of seeing in Mt. Real he has for Lt. a Mr. de Richerville also of the Colony & a Mr. Smitt, who has always been employed with the Militia.

I become every day more anxious to receive the Regulations for This Country; I attach herewith the Monthly Return in which I have not Included the Canadians because not being all assembled here I could not be positively sure of the number.

I have the honor to be with perfect devotion,

Sir,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,
Fred Haldimand.

(Addressed)

H. Ex. Gl. Gage.

(Endorsed)

To Gl. Gage, 25th March, 64.

(33)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6.—p. 143.

Quebec 26th March 1764.

Dear Sir!

I had the honor of your letter by which I find you have got thirty Volunteers; by this time you probably have compleated your Company, if not I send by the second company of the Quebec district which hath marched this day four or five supernumerary men which if you chuse are at your Service, if you do not want them you may send them to Mr. Burton, who complains of bad Success in recruiting. The Advance Money pay and Cloathing of these men you will be pleased to pay into the hands of Capt. Flurimon the Paymaster of the Regiment, and if you think you shall have any difficulty in raising your Quota I shall continue to inlist all that may offer here as soon as I hear from you.—

Pray remember me to Gagy and Maturel and be assured that
I am with great Truth and Regard

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient & most
humble Servant

Ja: Murray

Govr. Haldimand—

(Endorsed)

Genl. Murray du 26e Mars 64.

27e dto.

(34)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK,
Volume II, p. 106.

Quebec 26th March 1764.

Dear Burton;

Saturday last, our first Company of Volunteers marched for Montreal, and this day the second will set off for the same place; they have for or five Supernumerary men, which I have desired Capt. Flurimont to deliver to Colonel Haldimand, if he wants them, if not, to you, and either you or Haldimand will pay him the advance money, pay, and Clothing of these men; he undertakes to raise in your Governmt 60 men, if you should want as many when he arrives, I have made him paymaster, to which I flatter myself, you will have no objection.

Major Regoville will be with you, in a few days, he will deliver into your hands Rolls of the two Companys from this place, the few old men in these Companys are of the Officers Chusing from a knowledge of their Vigour and fidelity, upon the whole I think the Recruit an unexceptionable one, considering the little time, we had given us; The Eight Lorette Indians, are to all intents and purposes Soldiers, and may prove in case of Business usefull men.

I beg to know if you chuse that I should give a Warrent for the Subsee of the 27th Regt. That Warrent would certainly come more naturally from you or Haldimand

for I have no returns of that Regt. made to me. however it shall be just as you please. I am now to keep Compts to Mrs Burton and Capt. Richd and am with great truth and Regard

Dear Burton Yours &c., &c.,
J. M.

Govr. Burton.

(35)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS.

Series B. Vol. 9, p. 55.

3 Rivièrres le 27e Mars 1764.

Col. Burton.

Monsieur

Je reçois une Lettre de Mr Murray qui me marque que la Seconde Compagnie de Quebec, s'est mise en marche le 26e & qu'il y a ajouté 4 ou 5 Surnuméraires que je devois vous envoyer du Cas que je n'en eusse pas de besoin, Come j'espère Complet dans peu de jours Ces Surnuméraires Continueront jusques à Mt Real afin que vous puissiez en disposer.

Je vous prie Monsr de Vouloir bien donner Cours à l'Incluse pour nôtre General Je donneray par la Suite les Warrant pour la paye du 27e Regiment, si les Choses subsistent encore dans la Situation desagréable, ou Elles sont Aujourd'hui. La difficulté de rassembler icy un grand Conseil de Guerre, moblige à envoyer deux deserteurs du 27e a Mont Real, je vous prie Monsr de vouloir déssider de leurs Sort;

Jay l'honneur.

Original Draft

Endorsed Au Col Burton
du 27 Mars 64.

(Translation)

3 Rivers, 27th March, 1764.

Col. Burton.

Sir:—

I have received a Letter from Mr. Murray who informs me that the Second Company from Quebec began its march on the 26th & that he has added 4 or 5 Supernumeraries who I am to send to you in case I do not need them. As I hope to be complete in a few days. These Supernumeraries will proceed to Montreal for you to dispose of.

I beg you Sir to Forward the Enclosure for our General. I will give in consequence the warrants for the pay of the 27th Regiment, if Things remain in the disagreeable situation They are To-day. The difficulty of assembling here a General Court Martial obliges me to send two deserters from the 27th to Mont Real, I beg you Sir, to decide their Fate.

I have the honor,

(Endorsed)

To Col. Burton,
27th March, 64.

(36)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6.—p. 144.

Trois Rivières le 31e Mars 64.

Monsieur

J'ay été surpris d'apprendre qu'il S'est rencontre autant de difficultés à Québec et Mont Real, au Sujet de la levée des Canadiens que j'en ay trouvé icy; il est facheux qu'on ne puisse pas remonter a la Source des Mauvais bruits qui Se Sont repandus a Ce Sujet; Un Exemple de cette nature peut avoir des Suites desagréables dans des Circonstances plus essentielles que Celle Cy. Vous avés trouvé le Meilleur Moyen Monsieur de ressentir Une Mauvaise Völlonté aussi Marquée, des Gens qui refusent de se servir de leurs Armes pour procurer la tranquillite et le bien de leur Patrie, ne Merittent Certainement pas d'en avoir l'usage pour leur avantage personnel

En privant les Canadiens des Armes qu'on leur avait Confié C'est les punir par Un endroit bien Sensible, et C'est en même temps procurer le bien de l'Etat, parcequ'ils en Seront plus assidus à la culture de leurs Terres; j'ay Suivy Un aussi bon Exemple, et j'ay fait rendre les Armes qu'on avait confiée aux deux Paroisses de Batiscan; qui avaient eu l'insolence de repondre aux personnes que j'y avais envoyée pour demander des Vollontaires que puisqu'on les avait desarmé à la Conquete du Pays, ils ne reprendroient jamais plus les Armes.

Je Suivray donc exactement Votre Exemple pour Completer la Compagnie, Si Elle ne se trouvait pas prette pour temps necessaire; J'ay déjà une 50e de bons hommes, et en ay refusé plusieurs persuadé que le bien du Service exigeait que le Corps fut en etat d'agir offensivement Contre les Sauvages si les Circonstances l'exigent.

Je vous suis fort obligé des 4 ou 5 hommes que vous m'offrés; J'apprends que Monsr. Burton en a plus besoin que Moy, je lui marque qu'il pourra en disposer.

Puisque vous avés jugé a propos de nommer Monsr. Fleurimont PayMaster du Batt: je lui feray remettre les Contes de Subsistance de Cette Compagnie.

Je m'étais toujours persuadé Mons. que Vous Souhaittiéz de Continuer à Signer les Warrants pour la paye du 27e Regiment, puisque Vous l'aviez Commencé, Mais je les signeray par la Suitte en ayant les pouvoirs de Genl. Amherst, et ce n'est que la raison Cy-dessus qu m'a empeché de le faire plustost.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 31st March 64.

Sir:—

I have been surprised to learn that so many more difficulties have been encountered at Quebec and Mont Real, on the subject of the levy of Canadians than I have found here; it is annoying that we cannot ascertain the source of the wicked rumours which are spread on This Subject; An Instance of this kind may have disagreeable Consequences in more important Circumstances than these. You have found the best means of resenting such marked Ill Will: *People who refuse to employ their Arms to secure the tranquillity and welfare of their Country Certainly do not Deserve to have the use of them for their personal advantage.* In depriving the Canadians of the Arms which have been entrusted to them is to punish them in a very Tender Spot, and It will at the same time contribute to the good of the State because they will become more attentive to the cultivation of their Lands. I have followed so good an Example, and I have recalled the Arms which had been entrusted to the two Parishes of Batiscan, who had the insolence to reply to the persons I had sent there to ask for Volunteers, that as they had been disarmed at the Conquest of the Country they would never take up arms again.

I will strictly follow Your Example for the Completion of the Company; If it is not ready by the appointed time; I have already 50 good men, and have refused several, believing that the good of the Service required that the Corps should be in a state to act offensively against the Indians if Circumstances required it.

I am much obliged, Sir, for the 4 or 5 men whom you offer me; I learn that Mr. Burton needs them more than Me. I am informing him that he may dispose of them.

Since you have thought proper to appoint Mr. Fleurimont Pay Master of the Battn., I will have the Accounts for the Subsistence of this Company sent to him.

I always thought, Sir, that you wished to Continue to Sign the Warrants for the pay of the 27th Regiment, as you had Commenced it, But I will sign them Hereafter having the authority of Genl. Amherst, and it is only the Above reason that has prevented me from doing so sooner.

(37)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6. p. 146.

Quebec, 2nd April 1764.

Dear Sir,

I had the honor of your letter by Post yesterday. It makes me happy that what I have done here regarding the pressing the Militia coincides with your opinion; Burton does not like the Expedient but still for many reasons, I believe, circumstanced as we are, it was a very necessary one. At the same time I rejoice we have succeeded so well without having recourse to it in any great degree.

The Bearer John Anadin is a Volunteer I have given an order, to be forwarded by the Capt. of Militia untill he joins his Corps I hope you will confirm this Order in your Government, as it is for the good of the Service, and these same Milice seem unwilling to do anything for it unless forced thereto,

I have the honor to be with great Truth and
Esteem

Dear Sir!

Your most obedient & most
humble Servant

Ja: Murray.

(Endorsed) Gl. Murray du

2 Mars 64 recu

5me dto

(Addressed) To His Excellency

Governor Haldimand

at Trois Rivieres

Ja Murray

(38)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK.

Vol. II, p. 109.

Quebec 2d April 1764.

Dear Burton.

I had the honor of your Letter of the 28th March yesterday of the two Companies from this place, few of the men were pressed into the service I think not above ten men, I could have replaced these ten by volunteers, but as this whole transaction, has been new and without any authority from home, I judged it right to keep up the prerogative of ordering the Militia on service untill the Kings pleasure shall be known, had we given up this prerogative entirely we might have been found fault with, tho' I am entirely of your Opinion, that had we been obliged at this juncture to have exerted it to any Degree the Expedient must have been hurtfull what has been done is just sufficient to Shew how hurtfull it would have proved, how just our reasonings have been, and how necessary, it was to put the Government to the expence of Bounty mony and pay for this Canadian Corps, since the Commander in Chief Could not dispense with it, The whole Transaction shall be laid before the King, and I hope for the future we shall never be put to such a Dilemma. It has been a strange Business, I fear but ill Considered by Mr. Gage, but so presipitate, and so peremptory we had no time to wait for an answer, to our remonstrances, And from the situation of the Governments no right to Hesitate, for untill my Commission arrives, the Commander in Chief may exact an implicit obedience in this province. If I mistake not his powers, when we meet we shall have much to Say upon this Subject, I am persuaded we are of one opinion, and you will be Convinced that the few men I have pressed, Can have no bad Effect but *in se defendendo* was necessary.

Haldimand writes to me he had got fifty, and was sure of Compleating without ordering a man, I dare say when they see the Other three Companies at Montreal, you will have as many men as you please in that Case notwithstanding what I have said, I shall have no Objection that the pressed men, from these parts are replaced by Volunteers, and they sent back, what money you advance for this purpose shall immediately be paid. The pressed men had no bounty Money, they will be glad to give their Cloaths to the Volunteers who may replace them, I leave this matter intirely to you, the pressed men are all idle fellows, who have no families.

I am with great truth, and Esteem, Dear Burton,

Yours' &c., &c., &c.

J:M.

Govr. Burton.

(39)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 57.

Montreal, April 5th 64.

Sr.

From the badness of the Roads, and the dificulty of crossing the Rivers, the Post did not arrive here, till this morning, at ten o'Clock. Captn Du Chenays Company,

arrived here on Saturday last, the other is at Repentigny; we expect that River, will be passable tomorrow or the day after. Major Rigoville is not yet arrived.

I am extremely glad you have got your Company Completed with Volunteers Arms Powder horns and that bags are here ready for them.

The two Companys here are not yet Compleat, but we hope they will be before their departure, As I hear Lake Champlain is open, I look dayly for the arrival of the January Packet.

Mrs. Burton begs her Comp:to you,

and I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant

R. Burton.

Col. Haldimand.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du

7 avril 64

(40)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6. p. 147.

3. Rivières le 6e Avril 1764.

Monsieur

Je reçus hier au soir la Lettre du 2me qus Vous me faittes l'honneur de M'écrire par le Vollandaire *Jean Anadin*, que je ferais passer sans retard à Mt. Real.

La Compagnie de Ce Gouvernement est Complete depuis quelques jours par des Vollandaires, Et elle partira des que les chemins Seront plus praticables. Je suis fache d'apprendre Monsr. que Vous avés été obligé de presser des hommes pour former Celles de Quebec, et quoyque je Vous Croye fort autorisé (par Nôtre Situation) à une telle demarche, et que j'eusse pris sans Scrupulle le même Methode Si je my étais Vu forcé; peut etre Souhaitteriez Vous de rappeler Ces Gens la Si On peut les remplasser par des Vollandaires et dans cette idée, je Vais travailler sur le Champ à en engagé, et Si Vous le Souhaitez je les enverray à Mont Real; Si Cet expedient Vous est Agréable je Vous prie Monsr. de me le faire Savoir par le retour du Courrier, en Me Marquant à qui ils doivent etre adressés, pour le remboursement de leur engagements;

Le Gouvernement de Mt. Real etant remplis de Voyageurs, je Crois que Mr. Burton trouvera plus de facilité que Nous, Outre que par Sa Situation il gagne près d'un mois sur Nous, et peut attendre tranquillement quels seront nos Succés.

Je ne sais Monsr. si j'ay Compris Votre idée Au Sujet de la Liste que Vous avés demandée dans les Paroisses de Quebec; pour Savoir les noms des Personnes qui Veulent passer en France; il Serait peuthêtre necessaire qu'une telle Liste accompagna le Bordereau des Papiers, qu'on fait Aujourd'huy; afin que le Ministre pût Connoître Ceux qui sont Véritablement Sujets du Roy et renvoyer les pretentions des Autres à la Cour de france; Je sens fort bien qu'on ne peut pas exiger que Ces Peuples Se déterminent avant les 18e Mois accomplis; Mais afin de fournir au Ministre, toutes les Lumieres qu'il peut Souhaitter, je Crois qu'on est en droit de Savoir le Sentiment de Chaque personne que ont fait enregistrer leurs Papiers; C'est a dire qu'ils devraient declarer, *S'ils veulent passer en france; ou S'ils Veulent rester dans le Pays*, ou enfin, S'ils ne sont encore pas déterminé. Je vous prie Monsr. de me dire Votre Sentiment la dessus, l'Enregistrement des Papiers avance et s'exécute fort bien.

j'ai l'honneur d'être avec beaucoup de dévouement Monsieur

Votre tres humble et

tres obeissant Serviteur

Fred: Haldimand.

S:Exce. Gl. Murray.

(Endorsed)

au Gl. Murray 6e Avril 64.

(Translation)

3 Rivers, 6th April, 1764.

Sir:—

I received yesterday the Letter of the 2nd which you have done me the honor to write to me by the Volunteer *Jean Anadin* whom I am sending on without delay to Mt. Real.

The Company from This Government was completed several days since with Volunteers, and It will leave when the roads Become more practicable. I am sorry to learn, Sir, that you have been obliged to press men to form Those at Quebec, and although I Believe you fully warranted in such a measure (by our Situation) and I would have taken the same Means without any Scruple If I had been forced to it; perhaps you may Desire to recall These People If They can be replaced by Volunteers; and with this view I will endeavour immediately to engage them, and If you wish it I will send them to Mont Real: If This Expedient is Agreeable to you, I beg you Sir, to let me Know by the return of the Courier, Informing me to whom they should be despatched, for the reimbursement of their Bounties.

The Government of Mt. Real being full of Voyageurs, I Believe that Mr. Burton will find his task easier than We, Besides by His Situation he will gain nearly a month over Us, and may quietly wait to see what Success we have.

I do not know, Sir, whether I have understood your views on the Subject of the List you have required from the Parishes of Quebec; it will perhaps be necessary that such a List should accompany the Register of Documents, which is made To-Day; so that the Minister may Know Those who are actually Subjects of the King and forward the claims of the others to the Court of France; I feel very strongly that we cannot compel These Persons to decide before the 18th of the Month; But in order to give the Minister all the Information that he can Wish, I Believe that it is right for us to Ascertain the Intentions of Every person who registers their Documents, that is to say that they ought to declare, *If they wish to go to france; or if they wish to remain in the Country*, or finally. If they have not made up their minds. I beg, Sir, that you will give me your opinion thereon. The Registration of Documents is progressing and being very well done.

I have the honor to be, with great devotion, Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Fred Haldimand.

-His. Excy. Gl. Murray.

(Endorsed)

To Gl. Murray, 6th April, 64.

(41)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK,
Vol. II, p. 111.

Quebec 8th April, 1764.

Dear Burton!

I this day recd your Letter of the 5th Inst. you wish much I had rather sent the Two Companys from hence incompleat than have pressed ten Men: I Very freely and Openly gave you my Reasons for pressing the Ten men in my Letter to you the 2d Inst. I imagine you see more bad Consequences from pressing these men than I do, and I should have taken it very kind, had you mentioned them, I am positive no body has been hurt by what was done here in that Respect, and I am likewise Confident, that if we have a power to Levy new troops, wch indeed I think is at least doubtfull, we have the power to impress Idle fellows, who have declared themselves the Kings Subjects, for I pretended to order none, who did not make that their Choice. Enough has been done to Convince the Canadians, that they never under our Government can be oppressed with Military Services they see they are to be paid & Subsisted when such service is required of them, & I am sure the King will take Care, that they shall return agreeable to the terms of my proclamation; you no doubt know that in our provinces it often happens that the Militia are ordered to furnish a Certain numr of men, to take the field, and to march wherever the Service may require, it is true the province enacts a Law for that purpose, but in our situation here, the orders of the Governors, are Laws, & I imagine our orders, will not be found fault with provided they are Consistent with the Liberties of the subject, & Consistant with ye Laws of England, & the Dictates of Prudence & good Policy; This my Dear Burton is being open and plain, I expect the Same from you, and that you will tell me, the reasons you so strongly and Ardently wish I had not pressed a man, for the General Terms, by which you Express yourself on this Subject, I can guess at none.

As to the interruption of interior Trade of Corn I never thought it Could be attempted in Canada, with Justice or propriety, when it was done, I did my Duty by remonstrating against, I shall Certainly under Certain Restrictions, allow the Ex-

portation of Corn, to any part of the world, where British Ships can Lawfully Navigate, and by this post a Copy of the proclamation I have published here on that Head, is sent to your Secretary to be laid before you.

You certainly judge well in not granting pasports to any body to Trade in the Upper Country out of this province, His Majestys proclamation of the 7th October, absolutely prohibits such Trade, untill security is given by the Traders, that they will Comply with the Rules and Directions given by him for their Conduct in their Trafick with the Indians, These Rules are not Yet arrived, I hope they will Soon, as Mr. Gage tells me they are Expected by the January mail, and Then if the Indian War will admit, Pasports must be given to every one without exception, who can give the requisite Security, and in Case they do not Comply with the Rules, they should be punished without favor or affection.

I begin now to wish, myself, for the arrival of the Commission and Instructions; for I find your people at Montreal are Remonstrating to the Lords of Trade, against inconveniences which may happen, but which never Can happen to them while I Govern the Province; such Remonstrances shew want of Sense, want of Principal, and a Disposition which should not be encouraged: had I any Evil intentions these poor Deluded people have taken the most Effectual method to facilitate the Execution of them, for surely such Groundless base, and unjust remonstrances, must Totally discredit their future just Complaints, but they never shall have any of that nature to make against me, when I can act they must be Convinced of it, and therefore I wish for the Arrival of my Commission. I enclose a Copy of this pretty performance, which you Certainly have not seen, otherwise, I think you would have mentioned to me. I beg you will shew it to Christie, I imagine the monopoly of Lands is a drive at him and those who have applied for Lands at Gaspee, and upon the River St Lawrence above Montreal.

Pray excuse this Long Letter, I am, Dear Burton!

Your's &c., &c., &c.

J:M.

Govr. Burton.

(42)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES. B. VOL. 6, p. 149

Quebec 9th April 1764.

Dear Sir!

I had the honour of your letter last Post, I think myself much obliged to you for it, and I congratulate you on having raised the Company of Volunteers. If you can get ten Men to replace the ten press'd men in the two Companies from this place you will much oblige me, and I shall pay the expence to your order.—

What you say about making the People declare whether or not they are to remain Subjects of His Majesty is certainly right, but before these Returns can arrive in England the time limited for the Emigration will be expired, and as the navigation will then be open a list of all who think proper to Emigrate may be sent and be in England by the middle of Sept. I find it will be necessary to give another month to register their Paper, & that in consideration of the seed time this will put off sending the Reports till the middle of June, so I think it will be as well to let them alone as to the declaration for many cannot decide till they Hear from France and those who declare themselves undetermined will be ill looked upon by us, indeed it is a question whether such an answer can be given for the words of the Treaty may be construed otherwise they have eighteen months to emigrate, and dispose of their effects, but perhaps the question—*Subject of England or France* might have been put to them the week after the ratification of the treaty. I only mean, that there are doubts which in our present Situation are not necessary to be determined by us and therefore may as well be let alone.

We are now thinking of dressing and Exercising the Battn. I hope to shew you a very good one in all respects if you will favor me with a Visit in June. Pray make my Compliments to Guky & Mr. Maturel & be assured that I am with great Truth and Regard.—

Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient &
most humble Servant

Ja: Murray.

(Endorsed) Gen. Murray du 9 Avril 4.

14e dto. ayant été envoyé à Mt. Real.

(43)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B? Vol. 9, p. 58.

Montreal April 9th 1764

Sr

Lieut. Hazzell arrived here yesterday Evening, from New York, he has made great dispatch, this, with the Inclosures, you will receive from Lt. Frizebourg, your letters from General Gage, came under my Cover, in the hurry of opening the Packet, I cut one of your letters open as you will see, by the Seal, which I hope you will excuse. I hope the Trois Rivières Compy. of Volunteers, are upon their march, as I am in great hopes of getting the Regimt of from hence, the 16th inst., to La Chine; and Embark them for Oswego, the 17th Do. I had by this Packet, a letter from Lord Halifax, ordering me to send an account of the Paper money in the Governmt of Trois Rivières, which I neglected sending, last summer, when it was Registered. I have ordered Lieut. Bruyon to write to the Register for it. His Lordships letter is still directed to me as Lt. Govver of Trois Rivières; I hope his next will be to you, as such, if agreable to you. Genl. Gage will I suppose give you all the publick news, I do not find he is yet appointed from home our Commander in Chief, but I think the odds greatly in his favor. I do not know, that Governor Murrays Patent is come out, by this Packet. I have a letter from Genl. Amherst, and from the Cole: they got into Falmouth after a dreadfull Passage lost their Masts etc. but are both well, the ferment at home still continues, as you will see by the Papers.—as usual, the next Packet to settle everything, God grant it.

Mrs. Burton and the little Captn beg their Compts and I am

Sr. your most obedient humble Servant,

R. Burton.

To Cole. Haldimand.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du

9 Avril 64

10 do.

(44)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 60.

3 Rivières le 11e Avril 64.

Monsieur

Le Lt. Wriesberg qui passa hier Au Soir icy pour Quebec, ma remis le Paquet dont vous aviez eû la bonté de la Chargér pour Moy; La Méprise qui vous à fait Ouvrir Une de mes Lettres du Gl Gage est bien excusable dans l'impatience ou Nous Somes, & ne doit point vous faire de peine Je suis Charmé de Savoir le G. Amherst arrivé heureusement à Londres il faut esperér que Sa Présence Contribuera à nous procurér les Arrangements deffinitifs. Malgré la fermentation qui y reigne. Le project de Changer les Troupes dans ce Pays, est tout ce qu'on pouvoit faire de plus Avantageux, pour la Nation & pour Conservér une armée de Soldat. On me Marque que Vous avés Acceptés le Gouv't de Mt Real, je Vous en felicitte Monsr & vous y Souhaitte beaucoup dagrement; pour moy je n'espère rien, & je Souhaitte peu de Chose ainsi jattens tranquillement Ce que le sort me reserve, le Genl. Gage me marque que les Gouverneurs du Canada devoient recevoir 20 Sh: par jour, pour le temps passé & qu'ils Seroient payés sur le même pied à l'avenir, si on n'augmente pas Ces appointemts il faudra avoir une Aussi bonne fortune que la Vôtre pour Vivre à Mt Real. Supposant que vous aviez envoyé l'année dernière les Bordereaux des Papiers de ce Gouvernement Au Ministre, je ne l'ay point fait Celle Cy, mais j'auray soin d'envoyer à My Lord Hallifax Celui qu'on forme Aujourd'huy, par Ces derniers Ordres, Amoins que dans l'intervalle Mr. le Gouv'r Murray ne reçoive Ces Instructions je verray en attendant que Pillard vous fasse parvenir Celui que vous lui faites demandér. Les Mauvaix Chemins qui ont retardé la poste jusques à Aujourdhuy, Sont Cause que je n'ay point encorre fait marchér la Compagnie, qui est rassemblée icy depuis quelques jours, dailleurs, je me figurois que vous ne pouriez guerre faire partir le Batt: avant la fin d'Avril. Mais la Compagnie Se mettra en Marche avant la fin de cette Semaine, & j'y joindray dix Vollontaires que j'ay de Surplus, dont je vous prieray de disposer pour Complèttér vos Compagnies, Mr. Wriesberg me disant que vous aviez encorre besoin de Monde, J'avois engagé Ces Gens la pour rendre Service à Monsr. Murray; Voyant qu'il avoit été obligé de faire Commandér du Monde, & qu'il renvoyoit d'autres Comandés pour relèver Ces Gens la, & qu'ensuite il envoyoit jusque à un volontaire Seul de Quebec, je Crus lui rendre Service, en lui marquant, qu'Etant

Complet icy je Continuerois à engager du Monde, a Sa disposition, & que je le priois de me répondre par le Courrier, Mais Come je n'ay point de Ces Lettres, je dois Supposer qu'il n'en à pas besoin & vous prie Monsr de disposer de Ces Gens la; ils partiront Avec la Compagnie, & au Cas que vous fussiez Complet, je vous prie de leur donner leur Congér pour ne pas Augmenter les fraix qui retomberont sur moy pr avoir voulu rendre service. Sans doute Mr. Murray Croyoit que mes offres avoient les mêmes fondements que Ceux qu'il m'avoit fait & reitéré il me marquoit dans les Comencements de la levée, que sil avoit besoin de Mille Volontaires dans son Gouvernement il ne seroit point embarrassé de les trouver & que si je trouvois des difficultés je pourrais Conter sur son Gouvernement.

Jay l'honneur d'être Monsieur,
 Votre tres humble & tres obeisst Serviteur
 Fred. Haldimand.

Original Draft, signed

Col. Burton.

Endorsed. Au Col. Burton
 du 11 Avril 64.

(Translation)

3 Rivers, 11th April, 64.

Sir:—

Lt. Wriesberg who passed here yesterday Evening on his way to Quebec, has given me the Packet you were so good as to Charge him with for me; The Discourtesy which has induced you to open one of my Letters from Gl. Gage is quite excusable owing to the anxiety we are in, and ought not to worry you. I am delighted to Know that Genl. Amherst has arrived safely in London, it is to be hoped that His presence will contribute to obtain Definite arrangements for us, notwithstanding the agitation that prevails. The plan of changing the Stations of Troops in this Country, would be most advantageous for the Nation and for maintaining an army of Soldiers. I am informed that you have accepted the Government of Mt. Real, I congratulate you, Sir, and wish you much pleasure; as for myself I hope for nothing, & desire so little that I await quietly for what fate reserves for me. Genl. Gage informs me that Governors in Canada were entitled in the past to receive 20 sh. per day & that they will be paid on the same scale in future, if they do not increase These allowances, one must needs have as large a fortune as Yours to Live in Mt. Real. Presuming that you sent last year the Register of the Documents of this Government to the Minister, I have not done This but I will take care to send to my Lord Hallifax That which is made To-Day by These last Orders, Lest in the meantime Govr. Murray should not receive These Instructions I will see that Pillard shall send you what you have asked for.

The Bad Roads which have delayed the mail until To Day are the Cause that I have not sent on the Company which has been assembled here for several days, besides I have concluded that you will not be able to despatch the Battn. before the end of April But the Company will begin its march before the end of the week & I will add ten Volunteers which I have as surplus whom I beg of you to dispose of to Complete your Companies, Mr. Wriesberg having told me that you still need men, I had engaged These men to assist Mr. Murray, Learning that he had been obliged to Press men, & that he might return other Pressed men to relieve These people and to enable him to send all as Volunteers from Quebec. I believed I would do him Service by informing him that Being complete here I would Continue to enroll men, at his Disposal and asked him to reply by the Courier, but as I have not received These Letters I must Presume that he has no need of them & beg you, Sir, to dispose of These People; they will leave with the Company, & in case you are Complete, I beg you will give them their Discharge so as not to Increase the Expenses that will fall upon me for having wished to be of Service. No doubt Mr. Murray thought that my offers were based on the same foundation as those he had made and repeated to me, he informed me at the commencement of the levy that if a Thousand Volunteers were needed from his Government he would have no difficulty in finding them & that if I found any difficulties, I might Rely on his Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
 Your very humble & very obedt. Servant,
 Fred. Haldimand.

Col. Burton.

To. Col. Burton,
 11th April, 64.

(45)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 63.

Montreal April ye 12th 1764

Sr

I was this day at noon, favored with your letter of yesterday. I am very certain, no one knows of my haveing, or not haveing, accepted of the Lt. Governorship of this Place; as you observe, 20 sh: a day would not go far at Montreal.

I am much obliged to you for haveing spoke to Pillard, for what I wanted. I hope your Company are upon their march for this Place; as the Batteaus will move from hence to La Chine the 16th inst; and the Canadian Volunteers were to Embark the 17th Do as such, must beg of you, to send, and order, your Company to be as expeditious as possible in their marching to this Place, and that they may all go of together, the Companys here shall not embark, until the 18th instant, before which time, I hope yours will be here.

the River is become Navigable, ten days sooner this year, then usual and what makes me so pressing to get the Batteaus sent of, are Genl. Gages Orders to me for so doing, the instant it was navigable.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the ten Supernumary Volunteers, they will be very acceptable to us here, as we are not yet Compleat not that that would retard me a moment, Embarking them after the arrival of the Trois Riviere Company I hope they will get safe to Osweego and answer the warmest wishes of the General, and who ever they are to serve under. Mr. Murray was a little out in his Politicks, in conceiving the Quebec Government, would furnish so large a number of Volunteers.

I shall tomorrow Publish a Placart Prohibiting, for the present, the Indian Trade, with the upper Countrys, of which I will send you a Copy, by the first opportunity.

Mrs. Burton and the little Captain beg their respects to you, and I am Sr.

your most obedient humble Servant

R. Burton.

Cole: Haldimand &c., &c.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du

12. Avril 64

14. do.

(46)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. GENERAL MURRAY'S LETTER BOOK

Vol. II. p. 120.

Quebec 14th April, 1764.

Dear Sir:

I had the honor of Your Letter by Hazzen, with the different inclosures. The Exchange of Capt. Fuser, with Capt. Tesch, is in the first Battn of the 60th Regt.

We all here think very differently with you as regard to the method of raising the Canadian Corps, but, as you Observe, there is no necessity to enter into any arguments about it, we all Certainly mean for the best, and it is happy you Can have no disappointment, for the Corps is Compleat, I believe to a man, at least the Company from this District & that of Trois Rivieres, were sent over & above twenty men, but as ten of my men were Drafted from the Militia The bad Effects of which were Evident, I prayed Colonel Haldimand to enlist ten to Supply their places, which he has done, & the draughted men are to Return, By Last Acct., from Govr, Burton He wanted thirty men, I make no doubt of his getting Volunteers to compleat his Companies, if he Cannot, he tells me he Objects Absolutely to pressing a man, & rather Chuses they should march incompleat; perhaps on receiving Your Letter he may Alter his Opinion: He was for sending to you, before anything was done in this Business, but I was of a Different Opinion, and am well pleased you have what your asked from this Province, & that, in time, to go up with the Batteaus; had we waited till Hazzen Came Back you must at least have been disappointed as to the time: I hope all your Schemes will Succeed, & that our Quebec Provincials will do honor to their Country.

I am now to Offer my most respectfull Complimts to Mrs Gage, & if you will present the same from me to Mrs Morris, you will much Oblige Me.

I have the Honor to be &c., &c., &c.

J.M.

P:S: We have promised that the Canadians shall return to their homes, before the Winter sets in.

To General Gage.

(47)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS SERIES, B. 2, pt. II. p. 9.

Trois Rivieres, le 15 Avril, 64

21662, F. 128.

Monsieur,

Je reçus le 30me passé les Lettres que Votre Excellence me fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 2me 4me & 26me fevr & celles du 22e & 30me Mars me sont parvenues le 10 du Courant. Je suis bien Charmé Monsr. que vous approuviez la Conduite que J'ay tenue au Sujet de la levée des Canadiens; J'ay eu icy le Succes que J'esperois; la Compagnie a été entierement Complettee par des Volontaires J'en ay eu meme plusieurs au dela; Et elle est actuellement a Mont Real bien pourvue de tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Ils ont tous Reçu leur engagement icy & j'ay remis entre les mains du Capitaine leur paye jusqu'au 24 de May prochain inclusif, Cet argent leur Suffira de leur propre avec pour les petits besoins de la Campagne, & la somme qu'ils trouveront à leur Retour pourra procurer à Ceux qui seront sage les moyens de S'éta blir Voilla encore les Paquets de Janvier et fevrier arrives, sans arrangements deffinitifs, il faut esperer qu la presence du Genl. Amherst Contribuera à nous les procurer; On est dans le derniere impatience à Quebec; j'en ay beaucoup aussi; Mais elle procede d'un motif bien different. Je concerveray exactement l'indépendance de ce Gouv't. jusques à l'Arrivée de M. Murray Sous le Grand Sceau & je vous suis tres obligé Monsr. d'avoir bien voulu meclaircir sur tous les Points; je suis obligé detre Constemt sur mes Gardes.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec un parfait devouement
Monsieur
De Votre Excellance Le tres humble & tres
obeissant serviteur
Fred: Haldimand

Endorsed
au Genl. Gage
15 Avril 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 15th April 64.

Sir:—

I received on the 30th of last month the Letters which Your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 2nd, 4th and 26 Febr'y, & those of the 22nd & 30th March reached me on the 10th Instant. I am delighted, Sir, that you approve my Conduct on the Subject of the levy of Canadians. I have had the success here which I hoped for; the Company has been entirely Completed with Volunteers. I have even had some to spare; and it is actually at Mont Real well provided with every thing necessary. They have all Received their bounty here & I have placed their pay up to the 24th of next month inclusive in the hands of the Captain. This money they admit ought to be sufficient to supply their little necessities during the Campaign & the amount which they will receive on their Return will be enough to furnish Those who are prudent with the means of establishing themselves. The Packets for January and February have arrived without definite arrangements we must hope that the presence of General Amherst may Contribute to procure them for us; There is the greatest impatience at Quebec; I feel much also. But it proceeds from a very different motive. I will strictly preserve the independence of the Gov't. until the Arrival of Mr Murray under the Great Seal & I am greatly obliged to you, Sir, for having enlightened me on all Points I am obliged to be constantly on my Guard.....

I have the honor to be with perfect devotion, Sir,
Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient Servant,
Fred Haldimand.

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Gage.
15th April, 64.

(48)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 66.

le 17 Av. 64.

Mr. B.

J'espère que la Compagnie de Vol: Canadien se trouve actuellement à rendues Mt Real, & que Mr. Mt Isamberg vous présenté les 9 ou 10 Surnuméraires j'avois même Chargé Ces Messrs de Vous Conduire tous ceux qu'ils pourroient engager en Chemin La Lettre que Mr. Murray Mécritoit à ce Sujet par le dernier Courrier ayant été envoyée à Mt Real par la negligence du Maitre des Postes, je ne l'ay reçue qua son retour & par Consequent trop tard & quoyqu'il accepta ces Surnuméraires cela ne Change rien Monrs à l'offre que je vous en Ay fait & je vous prie d'en disposer pour vos Compagnies.

Je recois dans Ce moment une de Ces lettres avec la Copie de Celles de My lord Halifax du 14e Janvr Je Crois Monsr que le meilleur Moyen de remplir les intentions du S. M. Seroit de publier Une Proclamation, par ou Chaque Canadien ou françois eut a déclarer Sil veut passer en france, Sils veulent rester dans le Pays; Ou bien, s'ils ne sont pas encorre déterminné ils ne peuvent refuser de sexpliquer sur ces trois points Je vous prie Mr de me dire vos Sentiments la dessus, il me paroît qu'il nest pas possible de faire une reponce positive Sans Cette precaution la & le temps pressé & je ne feray Aucunne demarche avant Votre reponce.

Je ne vois pas Coment Mr Murr. pourroit se dispenser de prendre le même partis Amoins quil neut deja une pareille liste dans Secretariat.

Mes respects é Mad: Si Elle avoit quelques graines de Jardins de reste, Elle me rendroit un grand Service de men faire part quoy quil aye bien de l'apparence que je Cultive ce jardin pr d'autres &c.

du 17 Avr. Col. Burt.

Endorsed Col. Burton

du 17 Avril 64.

(Translation)

I hope that the Company of Canadian Vols. has actually arrived at Mont Real & that Mr. Isamberg has presented to you the 9 or 10 Supernumeraries. I had even instructed these Gentlemen to Conduct to you all whom they could enlist on the Road. The Letter which Mr. Murray wrote me on this Subject by the last Courier, having been sent to Mt. Real through the carelessness of the Post Master did not reach me until his return & Consequently too late & although he accepts these Supernumeraries this is in no way Sir, Alters the offer I made of them to you & I beg you to dispose of them for your Companies.

I receive at this moment one of These letters with the Copy of Those of my Lord Halifax of the 14th Jany. I believe, Sir, that the best means of carrying into effect the Intentions of H. M. will be to publish a Proclamation by which Every Canadian or frenchman must declare If he wishes to remove to France. If they wish to remain in the Country, or even if they are not yet decided, they cannot decline to make an explanation of these three points. I beg you, Sir, to give me your Opinion in respect thereto, it appears to me that it is not possible to give a positive reply Without This precaution & time presses & I will take no step before your Answer.

I do not see How Mr. Murr. can avoid taking the same course unless he has already such a list in his Office.

My respects to Mad. If She has some Garden seeds left, She will render me a great Service by sending some of them to me although it now looks as if I Cultivate this Garden for others, &c.

17 Apr. Col. Burt.

(Endorsed)

Col. Burton.
17th April 64.

(49)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2, pt. II. p. 12.

21662—F. 130.

3 Rivières le 18 Avril, 64.

My Lord,

I have the Honor to Inclose Your Lordship a Letter which I received from His Excellency the General in Chief of the 3d of March last. In consequence of which I thought it my duty to raise without delay the 60 Canadiens required by His Excellency for the service of this Campaign After previously Consulting with both Governors Murray and Burton, I conformed myself to the Same plan and have likewise allowed to Every Volunteer besides his cloathing and six pence, this Currency pr. day Twelve Dollars Bounty; to supply which Expences I have drawn on the Contingency for this Government, till His Majesty's pleasure be further known. The Company has accordingly been Completed before the End of March and already joined the rest of the Battalion at Montreal.

This Levy met First with some difficulty; Canadians always accustomed to serve for nothing under the French Government and to be draughted out of the Militia; reluctant at the Bounty; and for fear of being listed for Life; would have preferred to be ordered as formerly; than to receive money or willingly offer their Services; whoever after a greadile Trouble they were dissuaded, and none listed in this Government but Volunteers.

.....
.....
It will always be a Duty most agreeable to me, that will procure me any opportunity of Convincing Your Lordship of my zeal, and Exactitude for the Service as well as of the profound Respect I have the Honour to remain in.

(Unaddressed)

(Endorsed)

A My Lord Halifax
18 Avril 1764.

(50)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 68.

Montreal, April, 19th, 64.

Sr.

I was yesterday favored with yours of the 17th by the Post; your Comy of Volunteers arrived here the 17th and a very fine Company they are.

Yesterday Evening I received your letter of the 12th by Captn. Mont Isambar the Company marched to La Chine this morning, the others Embarked yesterday they had Powder Horns delivered to them, with their Arms, the money that you had advanced the nine Supernumeraries, is stoped in Cole: Christies hands for your use.

In regard to Ld Halifax's letter I know no other method to be taken but Publishing a Proclamation that all those who propose going to France may give in their Names (in a limited time, that is in a fortnight or three weeks) at the Secretarys Office, but shall say nothing in regard to whether they are determined or not as we certainly can not prevent their changings their minds as often as they please between and Sept. next and French Men you know are fickle.

Inclosed I send you a Copy of my Proclamation in regard to the Trade with the upper Countrys. I hope it will have the desired effect.

Mrs. Burton begs her Compts to you, and has sent you by the Post, all the Garden Seed she had left.

I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

To Cole: Haldimand.

Endorsed. Col. Burton
19 Avl 64
20 do.

(51)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 2, p. 105.

Quebec 24th April 1764.

My Lord

.....
The Canadian Corps of Volunteers which General Gage demanded from this Province, set off from Montreal to join the army, (which is to assemble at Oswego) the Sixth instant, and I am confident they will do their Duty, with as much Zeal and alacrity as any Provincial Corps whatever, They were raised, and equipped in fourteen days.
.....

I have the honor to be with great Truth and Regard

My Lord!

Your Lordships Most obliged, most obedient & most faithful
humble Servant

Ja: Murray

Endorsed: Letter from Governor Murray 24th April 1764

R July 2d

Lord Halifax.

Right Honble The Earl of Halifax One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries
of State.

(52)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2, pt. II. p. 16.

21662—F. 133.

New York April 24th 1764.

Sir,

My last letter about the Levying of the Company of Three Rivers will shew you my Opinion of the new method of raising Volunteers, and that I foresaw the Difficultys you set forth in Your Letter of the 24th March, which has lately fallen into my Hands. Mr. Murray's attention to the Welfare of the Canadians, that they should be put exactly on the same Footing with His Majestys British Subjects I suppose led them into this new method, which otherwise He would certainly never have tried, when the old one was so plain & easy.
.....
.....

I am with great Regard

Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
Thos. Gage

(Endorsed)

Genl. Gage

du 24em Avril 64

17 May.

(53)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 69

Montreal, April 25th 1764.

Sr.

I was this day favored with your letter of the 24th instant the last Brigade of Batteaus left La Chine, with the Trois Rivieres Company on board of them, the 20th instant. Major Rigovile left the two inclosed letters for you.

You have also inclosed a letter from Genl. Gage which Lt. Monisays brought here the 21st inst., I suppose it contains the same Orders as what I have received from the General and which gives me great hopes that he will be our Commander in Chief, which I most sincerely wish. The March Packet will I hope, bring him his Commission.

Your letters to N. York, went along with mine this morning by Lt. McKay. Mrs. Burton and Richard beg their respects to you, hopes the Seeds will flourish, and that you may reap the benefit of them if agreeable to you.

I am Sr.
Your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

To Colonel Haldimand.
Endorsed. Col. Burton du 25 Avl 64.

(54)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2, pt. II. p. 19.

21662—F—136.

New York May 2d 1764.

Sir,

.....
The news of the March of the Canadians has already astonished the Savages; and Sr. Wm. Johnson says, it will have a better effect to convince them of their folly than anything he can say or do to persuade them that there is no assistance to be excepted for them from that Quarter, *Mais ne dites rien de tout cecy en Canada.* Mr. Gage & all my Family present their best Respects, and I am with great Regard,

Dear Sir
Your most obedient
humble servant,
Thos: Gage.

(Unaddressed)
(Endorsed)

Genl. Gage du
2 May 64.
23dm.

(55)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 70

Montreal, May ye 3d 1764.

Sir

I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 1st instant your inclosed letter for Genl. Gage I sent by the Post, which set of this day for New York. We may in a few days have the March Packet, which I most sincerely hope will bring General Gage his Commission, and some further arrangements for this Country.

No news from Major Rigovile of his Corps, since they left the Cedars. Mrs. Burton and the little Captn beg their Compliments to you and joyn with me, in wishing you may enjoy the fruits of the Garden if agreeable to you.

I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant
R. Burton.

To Cole. Haldimand.

P:S: Captn Claus is arrived, by what he says I think there is great appearance that the Indians will sue for Peace, he holds a Congress tomorrow at Cagnawaga, where he will deliver to the Chiefs, Sr Wm. Johnsons Message, which to Joyn the Six Nations, and go to War.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du 3 May 4 do.
Repondue le 8 do

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 21, 1764.

New York, May 7.—On Monday last the whole body of New-Jersey provincials, raised for the present Expedient against the Indians, arrived here on board several vessels, and the same day sailed for Albany.

(56)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 72.

Montreal, May ye 9th 1764.

Sr.

I was this day favored with your letter of the 8th inst. I do not imagine Goverr Murray has yet sent the account of those who intend to return to France, to my Lord Halifax, I shall send him my List, as soon as the time limited by me is expired, which will be the 18th instant. Major Rigogville and his Corps were to leave Oswegatagi, the 6th inst. The Congress we had at Cacknawaga the 5th turn'd out as well as we expected, the different Tribes accepted of the War Belt, and Captn Claus tells me were very hearty, I hope they will continue so, if they do it will have a good effect a large Body of them are to set of for Sr. Wm. Johnsons by the way of Crown Point, the 15th inst: Captn. Claus tells me that Sr. Wm. Johnsons Message is notified to the Abenakis, thorough two Chiefs that were at Cacknawaga. Captn. Ryard and Lt. Cathcart leave this tomorrow at day break. I look dayly for the March Packet. Mrs. Burton and the little Captn. beg their Compliments to you,

and I am Sr. your most obedient humble Servant,
R. Burton.

To Cole: Haldimand &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du 9e May 64 10me dto
repondue le 15 do

(57)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2. pt. II, p. 20.

21662—F. 138.

New York May 13th 1764.

Sir,

I am to return you thanks for your Company, which by the Accts. received is the best by far, of the Battalion. They are set off from Montreal, and I expect by the next advices from Oswego to hear that they are arrived there. You will by this time know, that the March Packet is arrived, but no commission with it, and as far as I can find, nothing will be finally settled, till the Sitting of the Parliament is over.

I am with great regard
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant
Thos Gage.

(Addressed)

Govr. Haldimand

(Endorsed)

General Gage,

du 13 May 64

5me dto.

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, June 28, 1764.

By a private Letter from Niagara, of the 26th of May, we learn that the Troops raised here, arrived there the 18th, and on the 20th were ordered about 9 Miles above that Place, in Order to erect a small Fort, to protect the Landing the Provisions and other Stores; and that last Week they were joined by a Party of General Johnson's Indians, and were in daily Expectation of his arrival with the Remainder, also with the Troops raised in New-York, and the other Colonies on the Continent, and that all the Indian Nations were summoned to meet that General at Niagara, to hold a Treaty and conclude a Peace; that last Week a Party of Senacas came down for that Purpose, and prevented the other Nations from molesting their Landing, or cominiting any Hostilities on their Ground until the Treaty was held. All things were in great Readiness for the Expedition; they have got 50 of the Royal Artillery, with 10 Field Pieces, and other Ordinance.

(58)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. Vol. 9, p. 75.

Trois Rivieres le 29e May 1764.

Monsieur,

Je prens la liberté de vous adresser une Lettre pour Nôtre General que je vous prie de vouloir mettre dans Vôtre Paquet; Je reçus par le dernier Courrier des Lettres du Capt. Mont Isambert, qui me marque du 11e Courant, que sa Compagnie étoit en bon Etat, & quil Supposoit que la Campagne seroit fort Courte; Mr. Gage me marquoit dans sa dernière que le payemt des 20 Sh: par jour qu'on nous destinoit pour le temps passé avoit été areté, tout à Coup lorsque Mr. Calcraft devoit le recevoir, peuthetre aton trouve la some trop modique je le souhaite

je suis.

Original Dräft

Endorsed. Au Col. Burton
du 29. May 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 29 May, 1764.

Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing to you a letter for our General, which I beg you will place in Your Packet. I received by the last Courier letters from Capt. Mont. Isambert, who informs me that on the 11th instant his Company was in a good State & that he surmised the Campaign would be very short; Mr. Gage informed me in his last that the Paymt. of 20 Sh. per day which was intended for us for the time elapsed, had suddenly been stopped when Mr. Calcraft ought to have received it. Perhaps they consider it too little which I hope is the case.

I am,

Endorsed, to Col. Burton.
29 May .64.

(59)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. 2. pt. II. p. 24.

21662—F. 142.

Gl. Gage — le 29 May 64

Monsr.

.....
Je suis charmés que le detachmt. des Cannadiens produise Un si bon effet, et je Crois qu'il étoit aussi nécessaire de les Convaincre, qu'ils étoient Sujets du Roy, & obligé de le Servir que de faire par ce moyen Connoître aux Sauvages, qu'ils n'avoient plus de ressources à esperée de Ces Cottés cy; Ce sont deux avantages tres Certains que vous retirerez de Cette levée.
.....

(Endorsed)

Au Gl. Gage du 29 May 64.

(Translation)

Gl. Gage. 29th May 64.

Sir:—

.....
I am pleased that the detachment of Canadians produces such a good effect, and I believe that it was also necessary to Convince them that they were Subjects of the King & obliged to Serve him, and to make Known to the Indians by this means that they had no further support to hope for from this Quarter; These are two very Certain advantages which you will derive from This levy.

(60)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9fi p. 80.

Montreal June ye 18th 64.

Sr.

Nothing has ocured worth writeing for these two last Posts I was favored with your letter of the 8th inst.

No news from New York. All well and quiet at D'Etroit the 14th of May. The Canadian Volunteers hard at work on the Carrying Places of Niagara. Sr. William Johnson to hold his Congress at Niagara the first week in July. Bradstreet sick at Albany.

Seven Canoes from Michilimackinac, stoped at Carillion, by the Party I have there, the same Fellows that were here last summer. I don't like having those Chaps come to Montreal, nor can they have any business here, all Trade with the upper Nations is stoped, and as to Indian affairs, I refer them to the Congress at Niagara, for that purpose have sent Captain Claus up to Carrillion, Mrs. Burton and Richard beg their Compliments and I am Sr.,

your most obedient Servant
R. Burton.

turn over.

Monday 10 o'Clock

The Packet just arrived herewith you have what came for you.
R. B.

Endorsed. Col. Burton du 18 juin 64.
reçue de 20e dito

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 2, 1764.

A letter from the Little Falls, dated June 18th.

On Saturday last 18 companies of the Militia, amounting to about 1500 men ,were reviewed at Mr. Brant's about a mile above Fort Hendrick, by Sir William Johnson; who after the Review. entèrtained them with a large Ox, and a Number of Sheep roasted whole, and gave them a Barrel of Rum to drink his Majesty's health; there was a number of Indians present, amongst whom were some of the Senecas, who, on their return Home, will tell their People that the English are moving up in vast Bodies towards the Frontiers; This will undoubtedly have a good Effect, in engaging them to keep firm and steady to their late Convention with Sir William, fearing that these People should march against them in Case of a Revolt. Yesterday Evening Sir William set out for Niagara, accompanied by his Son-in-Law, Mr. Guy Johnson, and John Duncan, Esq. of Schenectady, with 30 of the Chiefs and most noted Warriors, of the lower Castles of the Mohawks, who insisted on accompanying Sir William's Person in particular, in his Voyage; they sung the War Songs and danced, taking Sir William by the Hand, with the most convincing Proofs of their Attachment.

(61)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS Series B. 2, pt. II. p. 32

21662 F. 151.

Trois Rivières le 27 Juin 1764.

Monsieur,

Les Lettres que Votre Excellence me fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 19 & 27 May, avec Celle du 6me Juin me sont parvenues; Je suis Charmé de voir que la Compagnie des Volontaires reponde à vos vues, On continue à m'en faire un rapport favorable, et je me flatte Mons. qu'elle merittera votre approbation pendant le Cours de la Campagne.

.....
.....

Je presente mès Respects à Madame et j'ay l'honneur d'être avec un parfait devouement.

Monsieur de Votre Excellence

Le tres humble & tres obeissant Serviteur
Fredk. Haldimand.

(Addressed)

A.S Ex: Monsr. le Gl. Gage

(Endorsed)

Au Genl. Gage du 27 Juin 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 27th June, 1764.

Sir:—

The Letters your Excellency has done me the honor to write me on the 13th & 27th May, with that of the 6th June, have come to hand I am Delighted to learn that the Company of Volunteers answers your expectations. They continue to make me a good report of it, and I flatter myself, Sir, that it will deserve your approbation during the Course of the Campaign.

I present my Respects to Madam Gage and have the honor to be with perfect devotion.

Your Excellency's very humble and very
obedient Servant.
Fred. Haldimand.

(Addressed)

To H. Ex. Gl. Gage,

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Gage, 27th June, 64.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 81.

Trois Rivières le 3e Juillet 64.

Monsieur:

Je prens la liberté de vous adresser une Lettre pour Nôtre General à laquelle je vous prie de donner Cours dans vôtre Paquet; Il n'y à rien de nouveau icy; je Suis Charmé d'apprendre que tout est tranquille du Cotté du Détroit, il paroît que nos Vollandaires Canadiens n'auront pas une Camgagne fort perilleuse; des Lettres que quelques Uns ont écrits icy à famille, ont dissipé des Mauvais bruits qui setoient répandus Sur leur Situation.

Vous êtes hureux Monsr d'avoir pû vous débarasser des Sauvages de Michillimakinack ce sont des hautes fort incomodes; & qui vray semblablement ne sont attiré de Ces Cottés que par le ressouvenir du Rhum qu'on leur present l'année dernière. Mes respects à Madame mes Amitiés au petit Capitaine.

J'ay l'honneur detre Monsieur

Votre tres humble & tres obeissant Servr.

Frd: Haldimand.

Col Burton.

Endorsed

Au Col. Burton,
du 3 Juillet 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 3rd July, 64.

Sir:—

I take the liberty of addressing to you a Letter for our General which I beg you will give Room in your Packet. There is nothing new here; I am Delighted to know that our Canadian Volunteers will not have a very perilous Campaign; Letters which some of them have written their family here have dissipated the Evil reports as to their Situation, which had been spread.

You were fortunate, Sir, in getting rid of the Indians from Michilimackinac; they are very troublesome and are only attracted to These Parts by the recollection of the Rum given them last year. My Respects to Madam and my love to the Little Captain.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your very humble & very obedient Servt.
Fred Haldimand.

Col. Burton,
(Endorsed)

To Col Burton,
3 July 64.

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 23, 1764.

Extract of a letter to Colonel Burton, at Montreal, from Oswego, August 7.

"Matters are entirely settled with all the Nations who attended the meeting at Niagara; the greatest ever known, being about 2000 indians. Some Reports spread prevented the Chenussios coming for a long Time; at length they came and delivered up the Prisoners, &c., &c. and gave to His Majesty, and His Successors, for ever, the Lands on both Sides the Streights to Lake Erie (or Carrying Place) 4 Miles on each Side, and Liberty of a Post on the North Side of Lake Erie, &c., &c. so that His Majesty will be possessed of all from Lake to Lake, a Cession of near 300,000 acres. They have also given two Seneca Hostages for the Shawneese, and Delaware King, whom the Chenussios engaged to deliver up at this Post, with all the Prisoners amongst them. There were 22 different Nations at the Congress, 11 of which were Western Indians. All behaved well, and were discharged in the best Humour. The Michillemakinac indians have engaged to protect the Garrison which may be sent there The Cognawagoe (or Canada Indians) Warriors are gone with the army, and behave very well.

The Peace is settled by a Solemn Treaty in Writing with the Hurons of Detroit. The Treaty of Peace and Alliance with the Chenussios is also ratified and confirmed in Writing, so that every Thing is done that could be wished for, or expected, &c. &c. &c."

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

Thursday, August 9th, 1764.

To-morrow being Friday the Tenth Instant, at the Hour of Eleven in the Morning, the King's Letters Patent, Constituting and Appointing the Honourable James Murray Esq; Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River, through the Lake St. John, to the South End of the Lake Nipissing, from whence the said Line, crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in Forty-five Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Sea, and also along the North Coast of the Bay des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosiers, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence, by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, Terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John's together with all the Rights, Members, and Appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging. As also a Commission for the said Honourable James Murray, to be Vice Admiral of the Same, will be published in His Majesty's Castle of St. Lewis, at Quebec, of which all Persons are to take Notice, in Order to pay due Obedience thereto.

By His Excellency's Command.

H. T. CRAMAHE.

(63)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES, HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 158.

Monsieur

Trois Rivières le 13e Aoust 1764.

Je reçus dimanche la Lettre que Vous M'avés fais l'honneur de M'écrire en datte du 7e en M'envoyant la Copie de la Commission qu'il a plut a Sa Majesté de Vous Accorder en Vous nommant Son Gouverneur en Chef de Cette Province, je ne puis Monsieur que de reitérer dans Cette Occasion les Compliments Sinséres que je Vous ay déjà offert.

Je me suis fait un devoir de publier Votre Avènement hier, Avec toute la Solennité que j'ay pû y Ajouter; Votre Commission a été lue Publiquement, et les Troupes qui étoient sous les Armes ont fait une triple décharge aussi bien que l'Artillerie, et j'ai reçu pour Vous Monsr. les Compliments que les habitants Vous présentent, lors que Vous arriverés icy.

J'ai Crû aussi devoir écrire une Lettre Circulaire aux Capes de Milisse de ce District, dont je joins icy la Copie, esperant qu'elle Aura Votre approbation;

Je me proposois de Vous rendre Mes devoirs avant Cette date, mais on M'asseure Si positivement que Vous devés passer incessamment icy, que j'y attendray Vos ordres, ayant l'honneur d'être

Votre tres humble et
tres Obeissant Serviteur
Fred: Haldimand.

A S: Ex. le Genl. Murray.

(Endorsed) Au Genl. Murray
du 15 Aoust 64.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 13th August, 1764.

Sir:—

On Sunday I received the Letter you did me the honor to write to me under date of the 7th, sending me a Copy of the Commission which it has pleased His Majesty to Grant you appointing you His Governor in Chief of This Province, I can only reiterate, Sir, on This occasion, the Sincere Congratulations, which I have already offered you.

I have made it a duty to proclaim your Accession yesterday with all the Solemnity that I could add thereto; Your Commission has been Publicly read, and the Troops who were under Arms fired three volleys, as well as the Artillery, and I have received for you, Sir, the Congratulations the inhabitants prepare for you when you will arrive here.

I have also Thought it my duty to write a Circular Letter to the Capts of Militia of this District of which I attach here a Copy, hoping that it will have your approbation.

I had proposed to pay You my respects before This date, but I was informed so positively that you would soon arrive here that I will await your orders, having the honor to be.

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,
Fred. Haldimand.

To His. Ex. Genl. Murray.

(Endorsed)

To Genl. Murray,
15th August, 64.

(64)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 162.

G. Murray du 8e 7bre 64.

Monsr.

Je reçois dans Ce moment le rapport de la Compagnie des Vollandaires Canadiens de Ce District, et Comme Elle est Sous Vos Ordres j'ay cru Mr. devoir Vous le faire parvenir, Je suis Charmé de pouvoir Vous la remettre Complète et Suivant le rapport qu'on m'en fait en bon Ordre.

Tout est tranquille icy les habitants occupés de leur reColte, n'ont pas le temps de penser à faire des Proces,

J'ai l'hon: d'être

(Endorsed)

Au Gour. Murray
du 8me 7bre 1764.

(Translation)

G. Murray, 8th Sept. 64.

Sir:—

I receive This instant the report of the Company of Volunteers from This District, and as It is under your Orders, I have, Sir, believed it my duty to forward it to you. I am Delighted to be able to hand it over to you Complete, and, According to the report made to me, in good Order.

All is quiet here, the inhabitants, being busy with their harvest, have not the time to think of carrying on Law suits.

I have the honor to be,

(Endorsed)

To Govr. Murray.

8th Sept. 1764.

(65)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 169.

Trois Rivières le 23e 9bre 1764.

Monsieur,

Depuis la dernière fois Monsieur que j'eus l'honneur de Vous voir à Québec J'ay Cru l'affaire des Cannadiens Vollandaires arrangée, et Monsr. le Col. Irving Chargé (de votre part) de pourvoir à leur Subsistance; Mais Comme il paroît par Votre Lettre du 18e que Vous Croyés qu'il Conviendroît Mieus que les Compagnies de Mt. Real et des trois Rivières fussent payées par des Warrants tirées par Monsr. Burton et Moy; J'en donneray Un Si Vous le Souhaittés Monsieur jusques au 24 d'Octobre pour la Compagnie de Ce District, Monsr. le General Gage m'ayant oté tout pouvoir de tirer par la Suite Sur le pay Master General; Mais Comme j'ai Avancé fort peu à Cette Compagnie; Je Suppose Monsieur que Vous voudrés donner les Warrants depuis le 24e de May; je ferais la dedans Ce que Vous jugerez à propos, Vous priant Seulement de me faire Savoir Vos Intentions; et Si la Compagnie doit être Conjediée à Son Arrivée à MontReal, j'envoyeray le Conte des Avances que j'ay faittes à la personne que Vous jugerés à propos de nommer pour le Congediér.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 23rd Nov. 1764.

Sir:—

Since the last time I had the honor of seeing you in Québec, I Believed the Business of the Canadian Volunteers arranged, and Col. Irving Instructed (by you) to furnish their Subsistence: But as it appears by your Letter of the 18th that you Believed it more Convenient that the Companies of Mt. Real and three Rivers should be paid by Warrants drawn by Mr. Burton and myself; I will give one If you Wish it, Sir, for the Company from This District, General Gage having deprived me of all authority to draw in Future on the pay master, I Presume, Sir, that you will grant the Warrants since the 24th May; I will do as to that whatever you deem proper begging you only to let me Know your Intentions; and If the Company ought to be Discharged on Its Arrival at Montreal, I will send the account of advances that I have made to the persons whom you deem proper to nominate to Discharge it.

(66)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 112.

A Mr. Burton le 27e 9bre 1764.

Je reçus par le dernier Courrier votre Lettre du 22 avec celle pr Mr Murray, que je lui tnvoyay par la même poste, en lui ecrivant dans le même jour que vous le fesiez, au sujet de la paye des Vollandaires Canadiens—je Contais d'en recevoir une reponce Aujourdhuy.

Votre letter du 22 me parvint par le dernier, Courrier & j'achemain imediatemt celle à Mr. Murr: en lui ecrivant au Sujet des Vollandaires C: Sur le même pied que vous & je le priois de me faire savoir; qu'elle personne il nomeroit a Mt Real pour les Conjediér, mais n'ayant point de réponce, je dois Supposér Monsieur quil vous ecrit sur ce Sujet; & quil aura donné les Ordres necessaires; à Mr. Frazier, ou autre pr que les Gens Soyent satisfaits.

Le Capt. Payne qui passa hier au Soir icy me dit de votre part que les Voll: étoient attendu le même jour à Mt Real & Come la plus part sont de Moska, St. francois, &c. & que la rivierre Comence déjà a etre difficile; il Seroit facheux pour ces Gens la

de devoir venir icy pour y recevoir leur paye, & y restér peuthrete degradé pr une 15 de jours. Ainsi Monsr au Cas que Monsr le Gouverneur Murray n'aye pas donné les Ordres necessaires pour Conjedier ces Gens la, je vous prié de les retenir a Mont Real, & de vouloir bien m'en informer par un exprès afin que je puisse y envoyér une personne pour les faire payer aussi longtems que mes pouvoirs peuvent le permettre La Poste qui arrive toujours tard donne à peine le temps decrire. Je vous prie Mr. de vouloir bien faire parvenir l'incluse à notre General.

La Compagnie des 3 R. est payée jusques au 24 May, & je pouray Conter avec le Capt. Monlsambar pour les avances que jay faites, Je joins icy son reçu au Cas quil soit necessaire je vous prie de vouloir le Conservér.

Original Draft.

(Translation)

To Mr. Burton, 27th Nov. 1764.

I have received by the last Courier your letter of the 22nd, with that for Mr. Murray which I sent him by the same post, writing to him at the same time What you are doing on the matter of the pay of the Canadian Volunteers—I expect to receive a reply To-Day.

Your letter of the 22nd reached me by the last Courier, and I immediately forwarded that to Mr. Murray writing him on the Subject of the C. Volunteers, on the same line as yourself & I begged him to let me Know what person he would name at Mt. Real to discharge them, but having no reply, I must Presume that he has written you on this Subject, & that he will have given the necessary Orders; to Mr. Fraser or other person so that the men may Be satisfied.

Capt. Payne who passed here yesterday evening told me from you that the Vols were expected at Mt. Real the same day & As the greater part are from Moska, St. Francis, &c., & the river already Begins to be difficult, it will be annoying for these People to be obliged to come here to receive their pay & remain perhaps unemployed for a fortnight. Therefore, Sir, in Case Governor Murray has not given the necessary Orders to Discharge the men there, I beg you to retain them at Mont Real and to inform me of it by an Express so that I can send a person to pay them as long as my authority will permit. The post which always arrives late hardly gives time to write. I beg you will forward the enclosure to our General.

The Company of 3 R. is paid to the 24th May, & I can account with Capt. Mon. Isambar for the advances which I have made. I attach here his receipt in Case it may be necessary, I beg you to preserve it.

(67)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES. HALDIMAND PAPERS. SERIES B. VOL. 6, p. 171.

Monsr.,

J'eus l'honneur de Vous écrire par le dernier Courrier Au Sujet des Vollandaires Cannadiens, et j'apprens dans Ce Moment qu'ils sont arrivés à Mt. Real; je Vous prie Monsr. de Vouloir bien me faire savoir la Resolutions que Vous Aurés prise a leur Sujet, et la personne que Vous aurés jugé à propos de nommer pour les Congédier. La plupart des hommes de la Compagnie de ce District, étant des habitans de l'autre Côté de la rivierre, il Conviendrait Mieux qu'ils puissent prendre le Chemin de Sorrel ou Longueuil pr. se rendre chez eux, la rivierre Commence à être dangereuse icy et Une Seule Nuit peut la rendre impracticable pr beaucoup de temps;

Rien de Nouveau dans Ces Quartiers ou tout est fort tranquille.

j:lh;

Gnl. Murray du 30 9e 64.

(Endorsed)

Au Gl. Murray
du 30e 9bre 64.

(Translation)

Sir:—

I had the honor to write you by the last Courier on the Subject of the Canadian Volunteers and I learn This moment that they have arrived at Mt. Real; I beg you, Sir, to let me Know what Decision you may have come to on that Subject and the person you have judged proper to nominate to Discharge them.

The greater part of the men of the Company from this District being inhabitants of the other Shore of the river, it would be more convenient for them to return to their homes by way of Sorrel or Longueuil, the river Begins to be dangerous here and a Single night may make it impracticable for a long time.

Nothing New in These Parts where all is very quiet

I have

Genl. Murray of the 30-9e-64.

(Endorsed)

To Gl. Murray,

30 Nov. 64.

(68)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. Vol. 9, p. 115.

A Mr. le C: Burton du le Xb 1764.

Mr.

La Capt. Brown se rendant à Mt Real par ordre de Mr le Gouv. Murray, pr Con-jedier les Vollandaires, je vous prie Mr vouloir lui remettre le reçu de Mr Mont I-samber que je vous envoyay dernieremt, afin quil puisse Contér Avec lui; je ne don-neray point de Nouveau puisque Mr IG: Murray ne lexige pas, & je suis Charmé de affaire finie.

Je suis—

à Mr Mt Isambert du le Xb 64.

Mr.

Le Capt. Brown: &c.pour Conjédier & payer Vôte Compagnie a la quelle Mr. le G: accordé quattre jours de paye pr se rendre Ches eux, Vous aurés donc la bonté Mr de donner à Mr Brown une Liste exacte de Vôte Compagnie, ou vous Marquerés les Varriations qui peuvent y etre arrivées de puis Sa Levée, afin quil puisse faire les deductions necessaires, je vous prie Mr. de Menvoyer une Copie de cette Liste ou vous Certifierés, que toute la Compagnie été sattsifaitte de toutes leurs pretentions jusques au jour quelle a été Conjediée: Il ne reste Mr qu'a vous remercier de même que Messrs vos officiers, de la bonne Conduitte que vous avés tenue, & je me feray un devoir d'en rendre Conte à Mr le Gouv. &c.

Endorsed Au Col. Burton

& le Capt. Montizambert

du 1, Xbre 1764.

(Translation)

To C. Burton, 1st Dec. 1764.

Sir:—

Capt. Brown proceeding to Mt Real by order of Govr. Murray to Discharge the volunteers, I beg you will hand him the receipt from M. Mt. Isamber which I sent you lately, so that he may account with him: I will not give a new Warrant since Genl. Murray does not require it, & I am Delighted to see this business finished.

I am.

To Mr. Mt Isambert 1st Dec., 64.

Sir:—

Capt. Brown &c... to discharge & pay Your Company to which the Gen. has granted four days pay to proceed Home, you will have the goodness to give Mr. Brown an exact List of your Company. in which you will note the Alterations which may have occurred since Its organization so that he can make the necessary deductions. I beg you Sir to send me a Copy of this List, on which you will certify that all the Company has been satisfied as to all their claims up to the day they were Discharged; It only remains Sir, for me to thank your officers for the good Conduct you have maintained, and it will be my duty to make a Report of it to the Govr.

(Endorsed)

To Col. Burton

& Capt. Montizambert.

1, Dec. 1764.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES HALDIMAND PAPERS. Series B. 2, pt. 11, p.

21662, F. 180.

Trois Rivières 25e Xbre 1764.

Monsieur,

Depuis la Lettre que j'eus l'honneur d'écrire à votre Excellence le 25 passé, Monsieur le Gouverneur Murray a jugé à propos de donner les Warrants nécessaires pour payer les Canadiens & les a fait conjédier à Mont Real en leurs accordant quelques jours de paye se rendre chez eux; Ces bonnes gens, qui n'avoient jamais reçu Un traitement pareil Sont tres content et souhaitent qu'on aye besoin de leurs services l'année prochaine; il est Certain que leur présence a produit Un bon effet sur l'Esprit des Sauvages.

(Endorsed)

Au Genl. Gage, 25 Xbre 1764.

(Translation)

Three Rivers, 25th Decber. 1764

Sir:—

Since the Letter I had the honor to write to your Exceddence the 25th ulto; Governor Murray has deemed it proper to grant the necessary Warrants to pay the Canadians and have them discharged at Mont Real allowing them some days pay to return to their homes; These good fellows who have never received Such treatment are very well satisfied and hope their services will be required next year; it is certain that their presence has produced A good effect on the minds of the Indians

Endorsed

To Genl. Gage, 25th Dec. 1764.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

List of the Officers appointed to the Volunteer Corps of Canadians raised in 1764, specifying the Casualties since that period.

Names	Rank	Remarks
De Rigouville	Major	Dead
De Fleurimont	Captain	Dead
Duschesnay	Captain	
Montisambert	Captain	
Catalogne	Captain	Dead
Lamondiere	Captain	Dead
Richerville	Lieutenant	
Hartel	Lieutenant	Dead
Lamadelaine	Lieutenant	Dead
Montesson, fils	Lieutenant	Dead
Depré	Lieutenant	Dead
St André	Lieutenant	
Clignancour	Lieutenant	Dead
LaForce L'ainé	Lieutenant	Dead
La Chevrotiere	Lieutenant	
Schmidt	Lieutenant	

Dorchester

Endorsed—No 12. S.A.

In Lord Dorchester No. 12
of 5th February 1787.

"Vers la fin de 1762, les sauvages de Missillimackinac, lasses de deux années de voisinage avec les Anglois, affranchirent à la sauvagerie de l'incommodité, c'est-à-dire qu'ils couperent, sans façon, la gorge à toute la garnison, dont le Commandant ne sauva la chevelure & sa vie, que par l'humaine interposition d'un Gentilhomme Canadien qui lui avoit fait plus d'une fois pressentir l'exécution; car c'est-la le sort que la judicature Indienne adjugé, de voler dans ses Tribunaux, aux usures, aux fraudes, aux depredations, aux brigandages. Une politique instruite & juste dictoit, de commencer par extirper les causes par la suppression d'un tyrannique monopole, avant de courir à la vengeance des effets, par le châtimement: mais en appellant sur le champ à son épée le General Gage crut devoir au sang versé de ses compatriotes, de faire marcher un gros corps de troupes, à travers trois cens lieux semés de rochers, de forêts, de marres, de rapiers, de cataractes, de precipices, du coupe-gorges, en un mot, où une poignée de sauvages, en embuscade pouvoit égorger à plaisir une armée toute entière.

"Chaque colonie fut taxée à sa mise proportionnelle de soldats. Les Canadiens avoient été, pour le grand nombre, élevés parmi ces peuples, compagnons de leur jeunesse, leurs amis de tous les tems, & même leurs parens, par le mélange de sang; il étoit de la dernière atrocité, de les mettre aux prises avec de si chers ennemis; pour s'inscrire avec légitimité contre leur enrôlement ils pouvoient tous d'ailleurs se réclamer des dix huit mois, qui à l'époque de cette expedition, venoient de leur être assignés à Fontainebleau, pour décider & arranger leur transmigration en France. Mais le General en Chef prononça différemment. Montreal & les Trois-Rivières (encore alors sous des gouvernemens particuliers) rejétterent hautement de souscrire à cette décision. A Quebec, le General Murray, l'ami, le protecteur & le père du peuple, n'eut que la peine de lui notifier ses inclinations; les Canadiens, de leur propre mouvement volèrent par bandes sous les drapeaux de Sa Majesté, & formeront une brigade de 600 hommes, la plus leste, la plus brave, en mot la fleur & l'élite de toute l'armée provinciale.

"Les Genereaux commencerent par dégrader ce genereux volontaires en serviteurs & en laquais, de tout le corps militaire, dont, en bêtes de somme, ils étoient chargés de voiturier sur les epaules les bagages dans les portages, de préparer les diverses cuisines, & d'effectuer à force de bras le transport en canots sur la route. Un déluge de pluies, dégorgeant des nuages qui règnent dans ces climats assez frequemment nécessita l'armée à camper dans une isle, sous des tentes. L'inondation présageroit une submersion generale: l'épée sur la gorge, on forçoit ces malheureux Canadiens d'ériger des digues & creuser des tranchées, au péril imminent de leur destruction; tandis les soldats Anglois, assis tranquillement sous leurs asyles militaires, en spectateurs oisifs & insensibles, contemploient avec un souris insultant le spectacle de ces pauvres nouveaux sujets, dont on sacrifioit la sûreté à celle de l'armée Anglaise, dont la conservation étoit sans doute d'une nature bien éminemment supérieure. Enfin le contre-ordre de l'expédition, de la part du General en Chef (qui heureusement se ravisait) atteignit l'armée à-peu-près à la mi-chemin: les Canadiens furent congédiés; mais avec des vêtemens tout déchirés par le mauvais tems, sans poudre sans munitions de bouche, sans canots même, pour regagner leur patrie éloignée, que la plupart ne revirent qu'après avoir longtems erré dans le labyrinthe des forets, & encore par les bienfaisans de ces memes barbares (c'est le nom dont l'Europe qualifié les sauvages, nom qu'elle meritoit peut-être à plus juste titre qu'eux) que ces malheureux Canadiens étoient allés combattre: par l'ordre inhumain de leurs nouveaux maitres. Justice, humanité, reconnoissance de conquerans! voies de nouvelle invention pour se concilier les coeurs des nouveaux sujets! Le journal du Capitaine Robert, qui étoit de cette expedition, & reside actuellement à Londres, fourmille de traits encore bien plus noirs, mais je jette un voile sur toutes ces horreurs que l'Angleterre, au-moins pour sa gloire, auroit bien du venger, independamment des egards que meritoient les representations du General Murray; mais la protection décidée dont ce digne Militaire honoroit ouvertement les Canadiens, lui valut perté de son gouverement. Silence sur toute reste.

(Appel à la Justice de l'Etat, par Pierre Du Calvet, London, 1784, pp. 136-9.)

*M. de Langlade.

(Translation)

Towards the end of 1762 the Indians of Michilimackinac, tired of having the English as neighbors for two years, delivered themselves from this inconvenience in the Indian way, that is to say they summarily cut the throats of the whole garrison, the Commandant of which only saved his scalp and his life by the humane intervention of a Canadian Gentleman who had warned him more than once of the coming

attack; for such is the punishment awarded by Indian Justice in their Tribunals for usury, fraud, theft and robbery. A wise and just policy would have begun by removing its causes through the suppression of a tyrannical monopoly before rushing to avenge its results by reprisals; but General Gage considered that the blood of his Countrymen required an appeal to the sword and that he must march a large body of troops more than 300 leagues through a country full of rocks, forests, marshes, rapids, cataracts, precipices and cut-throat places, where a handful of Indians in ambush might massacre at will an entire army.

Every Province was required to furnish its proportion of soldiers. The Canadians had for the most part been bred among these nations as companions of their youth, their friends at all times, and even their blood relations, it was an atrocious thing to require them to make war upon such dear enemies. As an objection to enlistment they could besides have justly at the date of this expedition taken advantage of the period of 18 months granted them at Fontainebleau to make up their minds and prepare for their removal to France, but the Commander in Chief determined otherwise. Montreal and Three Rivers (then still under separate governments), resolutely refused to accept this decision. At Quebec, General Murray, the friend, protector and father of the people, had only to take the trouble of announcing his wish; the Canadians of their own free will rushed in crowds under His Majesty's Banner, & formed a Brigade of 600 men, the nimblest and bravest of any, in a word, the flower and choice of the whole Provincial Army.

The Generals began by degrading these noble volunteers into servants and lackeys for the entire military force, for whom like beasts of burden they were forced to carry their baggage across the portages on their backs, to do their cooking, and to convey them on their way in canoes.

A deluge of rain pouring down from the clouds, which is a frequent event in these regents compelled the army to camp under tents on a island. The inundation threatened a general submersion. With the sword at their throats, these wretched Canadians were forced to build dikes and dig ditches in imminent danger of their lives, while the English soldiers looked on from their military shelters as idle and indifferent spectators, watching with insolent smiles the toil of the these poor new subjects, whose safety was sacrificed to that of the Army as its preservation was undoubtedly a matter of supreme importance. Eventually counter-orders for the expedition from the Commander in Chief, (who had fortunately re-considered it), reached the army when about half way; the Canadians were discharged with their clothing torn in rags without powder or provisions, even without canoes to return to their far distant homes, which they only reached after having long wandered about the labyrinth of the forests, mainly through the kindness of these very barbarians, (such is the name bestowed by Europe, which perhaps deserves it better, upon these Indians, whom these unhappy Canadians were sent out to fight, by the inhuman orders of their new masters. Justice, humanity, gratitude of Conquerors! Newly invented methods for conciliating the hearts of new subjects! The journal of Capt. Robert who took part in this expedition & actually lives in London, abounds in still darker incidents, but I cast a veil over all these horrors for which England, at least for the sake of her good name, should make ample reparation to say nothing of the consideration which the representations of General Murray deserved; but the marked protection with which that worthy soldier openly honored the Canadians, brought upon him the loss of his position as Governor. Enough said!

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 3, p. 87.

(Copy)

By His Excellency the Honble James Murray Esqr. Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and the Territories thereon depending in America, Vice Admiral of the same, Major General of His Majesty's Forces, and Colonel Commandant of the 2d Battalion of the Royal American Regiment of Foot &c., &c.

Whereas there is at present wanting a Number of Men to be employed in His Majesty's Service in transporting Provisions from Montreal to the Upper Posts; these are therefore to desire you immediately on receipt hereof to furnish thirteen men with the articles usually found in the like occasion for the Purpose before mentioned, for which service they will be paid a reasonable Hire by the Deputy Quarter

Master General, and that when you have engaged the said thirteen men with Paddles, Oars &c you will direct them to apply to the said Deputy Quarter Master General and acquaint him therewith.

Given under my hand and Seal at arms at the Castle of St. Lewis in the City of Quebec this 5th day of October 1765.

;Signed) Ja: Murray

By His Excellency's Command
(countsd) J. Goldfrap D. Secy

N.B. Copy of the above was at the same time sent to the Bailiffs of four other Parishes, towit, La Longe Pointe, Sault aux Récollets, Pointe aux Trembles and LaChine, desiring them to provide fifty-one Men proportionately.

To the Bailiff of Montreal.

Endorsed: Govenor Murray's Injunctions to the Bailffs to provide Men with Oars &c. to transport Provisions to the Upper Posts.

Quebec 5th October 1765.

In the Board of Trade's of 16th May 1766.

(72)

LES SEIGNEURS DE QUEBEC AU ROI.

(Archives, Serie Q, Vol. 4, p. 23.)

AU ROY.

Les Seigneurs dans le District de Quebec tant en leurs noms que pour tous les habitants leurs Tenanciers, penetré de douleurs du depart de son Excellence l'honorable Jacques Murray qu'ils ont depuis la Conquête de cette Province cheri et respecté plus encore à cause de ses qualites personelles que comme leur Gouverneur, se croiroient indigne de vivre, s'ils ne s'efforcoient de faire connaitre à votre Majesté, leur Souverain Seigneur, et à toute l'Angleterre, les Obligations, qu'ils lui ont, qu'ils n'oublieront jamais, et les regrets sinneres, qu'ils ont de son départ.

Ses ennemies ne peuvent aujourd'hui nous taxer de flatteurs, il est parti, le digne Gouverneur, et tout nous assure, qu'il est parti sans que nous puissions nous flatter de le Revoir, la Cabale forme par un certain nombre des anciens sujets a triomphe; du moins elle s'en flatte et s'en rejouit; ses plaintes supposé ont été écouté; refusera-t-on de nous ecouter aussi? Un tres petit nombre l'emportera-t-il sur le plus grand?

L'Honorable Jacques Murray en 1759 entourré des Canadiens qu'il devoit regarder comme ses ennemis, n'a eu pour eux que l'Indulgence; de ce Tems il s'aquit nos coeurs; sa generosité, et celle des ses Officiers animés par son exemple, qui par les aumones qu'ils ont repandu, ont tiré les Peuples de la misère dans laquelle les Malheurs de la Guerre les avoient plongé, nous ont forcé de l'admirer et de le respecter.

Après l'entière Conquête de cette Province il nous a par son affabilité contraint de l'aimer; il établit dans son Gouvernement un Conseil Militaire, composé des Officiers Equitables qui sans prevention et sans Emolument ont jugé ou plutôt ont accomodé les parties processives; point d'Exemple d'aucun appel de leur jugemens. Combien de famille n'a-t-il pas aidé et soutenu? Nous avons joui jusqu'à l'Epoque du Gouvernement Civil, d'une Tranquillité, qui nous faisoit presque oublier notre ancienne Patrie; Soumis à ses sages jugemens et Ordonnances, nous étions heureux, les anciens sujets ne pensoient point alors à se plaindre; nous regretterons longtems la douceur de ce Gouvernement. Nos Esperances ont été detruites par l'Etablissement du Gouvernement Civil, que l'on nous avait si fort exalté; nous vimes naître avec lui la Cabale, le Trouble et la confusion, et nous fûmes étonné de voir paroître dans des libels infames, dont les auteurs ont été impunis, la plus basse et la plus insigne Calomnie. Nous, accoutumé à respecter nos superieurs, et à obeir aux ordres émané de notre Souverain, à quoi nous sommes Portés par notre Education autant que par notre Religion, nous avons révééré les Nouveaux Officiers Civil, nous nous sommes tenus à leur jugemens, nous avons executé leurs ordres; le haut prix des Sallaires des ces Officiers nous a étonné à la vérité, mais sans nous revolter; frappé de l'irregularité dans Plusieurs circonstances, nous avons gemis sans nous plaindre, nous garderions encore le silence si nous n'y étions forcé par un coup le plus sensible, qui vient de nous être porté; Notre Père, Notre Protecteur, nous est enlevé, comme Père il écoutoit nos Plaintes, comme Protecteur, il y remedioit, ou de moins les diminueoit, avec promptitude,

et il nous consolait avec Bonté, et sans lui que serions nous devenu Les anciens sujets, du moins la plus grande nombre depuis l'Epoque du Gouvernement Civil, n'ont cherché qu'à nous opprimer, à nous rendre leurs Esclaves et peut être à s'emparer des nos Biens. L'Emigration d'un nombre des nos Meilleurs Concitoyens que nous regrettons, a été les funestes suites de leur mauvais procédés, et de Bruits alarmantes, qu'ils n'ont cesse de repandre, il nous en reste des monumens authentiques.

La Protection dont Mons. Murray nous a honore, a retenu plusieurs de nous déjà déterminé à laisser cette Province; Les Politesses, et les defences de ce Gouverneur pour les personnes bien nés le secours qu'il n'a cessé de leur procurer, lui ont attiré la Haine de la plus grande partie des anciens sujets.

Une Cabale de gens venu tant à la suite de l'armée, que comme commis et charge d'affaires des negocians de Londres ne meritent aucune preference, tant par leur conduite que par leur défaut d'Education et meprisable par eux-memes, piqué de la justice que leur a à cet égard été rendue ont entraîné avec eux quelques uns de nos compatriots, dont plusieurs avoient avec eux la plus parfaite ressemblance, d'autres sans y faire reflexion, ont donné leur suffrages et signés les calomnies le plus noires dans une langue qu'ils n'entendoient pas, il en fut même entre les derniers qui ont avoué, qu'ils avaiet été surpris, et les Gens d'honneur n'ont cessé desavouer de tels procédés détestables, mais qui sont pour la plupart ceux d'entre les nouveaux sujets, qui ont augmenté la Cabale, et dont on fait valoir les signatures—des Gens sans Naisance, sans Education, incapables des sentimens delicats, des soldats Congédiés de la Troupe Francoise, des Barbiere, des domestiques, des Enfants même, dont plusieurs pour être devenue Marchands, se soit rendu les Esclaves de leur créanciers, des juifs même qui accoutumés à respecter les citoyens dans les parties du monde, ou ils sont supporté, n'ont hésité dans cette Province à s'élever au dessus des nouveau sujets du Roy, auxquels cette Espece des Hommes étoit jusqu'alors inconnue, et qui, ainsi que les adherens, ont ruiné et réduit à la dernière misère ceux qui se sont attaché à eux, Digne recompense de leur Orgueil et de leur faiblesse.

Nous ne connoissons pas les sujets de Plaintes, dont la Cabale fait usage contre M. Murray, ceux des nouveaux sujets, qui ont eu la folie de souscrire n'ont pu nous en instruire et comment le pourroient—ils faire? ils ont signé sans scavoir ce qu'ils faisoient, ils n'avoient point les motifs, ils étoient Esclaves de leur créanciers; il nous seroit aisé de debattre les articles de ces plaintes, et d'en faire connoître le faux; il nous a vexe, disent les Imposteurs. quels vexations a-t-il commis? Nous les ignorons; s'il plaît à votre Majeste d'ordonner de nous communiquer les Chefs d'accusations, nous y repondrons en qualité de Fidels sujets, n'avons nous pas même le droit de l'exiger pour éviter dans la suite un pareil scandal; il est de notre honneur de soutenir la vérité et de demasquer l'Imposture qui gagneroit l'Etat à ne pas satisfaire les nouveaux sujets dans une cause si juste? Nous n'aimons pas le changement—nous étions fait au Gouvernement de Mons. Murray, nous connoissons son caractère, nous étions pleinement satisfaites de sa probite et ses sentimens d'humanité il étoit propre à faire goûter à vos sujets le joug de votre gracieuse Domination par son attention à le rendre léger; peu d'hommes reunissent autant de Talens; Personne n'est doué d'un meilleur cœur; nous n'avons jamais pensé parlé ni écrit differemment; pourquoi contraindre vingt cinq ou trente mille familles, qui composent cette Province à faire une nouvelle étude?

Nous voulons bien être persuadé des bonnes intentions de l'Etat à notre égard, et que Mons. Carleton, qui est choisi pour remplacer Mons. Murray, est doué d'Excellentes qualites, qu'il suivra l'Exemple de son Predecesseur, et aura pour nous les mêmes égards, mais nous le Connoissons pas, nous connoissons au contraire parfaitement que nous perdons. Nous respectons Mons. Carleton sans le connoître et nous lui obeirons, puisqu'il est choisi par votre Majesté, mais s'il nous protege, s'il nous rende justice et s'il nous conserve dans nos droits, bientôt nos Envieux cabaleront contre lui, et se plaindront encore, et pour satisfaire la caprice d'une poignée des gens qui trouvent à Londres des Personnes, qui les appuyent sans connoître le sujet de leur mécontentement, ce que par ce qu'ils leurs en disent, il faudra toutes les années un nouveau Gouverneur, et nous pauvres Canadiens serons sacrifié sans pouvoir représenter. Quel le Idée pouvions nous avoir des Loix de votre Royaume? Nous les croyons sages, nous les recevons, mais que seroit ce si la liberté Britannique n'étoit accordé qu'aux anciens sujets? Ils plaindroient sans Raison pour contenter leur Inconstance et leur caprice, ils imploireroient les calomnies que l'Enfer seul peut inventer, et ils seroient favorablement écouté; ne sera-t-il per mis à votre nouveaux sujets de parler, et condamnera-t-il sans entendre un Gouverneur qui faisoit leur Bonheur à leur satisfaction. Notre Langage n'est pas celui d'un peuple que gemit sous l'oppression; nous

osons dire à votre Majesté qu'un homme qui seroit par vos ordres chargé de s'instruire ici de la vérité trouveroit dans toutes les villes et les Paroisses de cette Province tout le contraire de ce que la malice de nos Ennemies, et de ceux de Mons. Murray a inventé pour le noircir et nous contrister.

Nous nous adressons à votre Majesté comme Père d'un nouveau peuple, et comme Protecteur des Droits quelle a bien voulu nous accorder, nous lui faisons part de nos peines et des Regrets que nous ne pouvons refuser à Mons. Murray.

Nous ne supplions si elle veut bien jeter les yeux sur nous, de le conserver Gouverneur en chef de cette Province, que sa Valeur lui a conserve, et dont sa générosité et sa Douceur lui ont attaché les peuples et de nous le renvoyer.

Nous osons esperer cette grace de votre Majeste qu'elle voudra bien faire attention à nos representations, les protéger et nous en faire parvenir une reponse favorable en faisant triompher la vérité; nous le cesserons d'offrir des vœux au ciel pour la santé de votre Majesté et de la famille Royale.

LaNaudiere

J. Duchesnay

F. J. Cugnet

Rigouville

De Vincelotte

Ja. Couillard

Louis Dupuis

Luc la Couat (?)

Michel Blois

Couillard

Couillard

J. Roy

L. Decharnay

Gaspe

Lachevrotiere

J. Couillard

Aubert

Augustin Chavigni

A. Hamelin

Gastineau

D. M. Deplaing.

(Translation)

THE SEIGNIORS OF QUEBEC TO THE KING.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 4, P. 23)

TO THE KING.

The Seigniors in the District of Quebec, as well in their own names as in those of all the inhabitants, their tenants, penetrated with grief at the departure of His Excellency, the Hon. James Murray, whom they have since the conquest of this Province loved and respected even more on account of his personal qualities, than as their Governor, believe they would be unworthy to live, if they did not strive to make known to Your Majesty, their Sovereign and to the whole of England, the obligations they owe him, which they will never forget, and the sincere regret they feel at his departure.

His enemies cannot now charge us with being flatterers; he has gone, the upright Governor, and everthing assures us that he has gone without leaving us any hope that we shall see him again. The Cabal formed by a certain number of the old subjects has triumphed, at least it flatters itself it has and is rejoicing at it; its false complaints have been listened to; shall ours be refused a hearing? Shall a very small number outweigh the greater?

The Honourable James Murray in 1759, surrounded by Canadians, whom he must have regarded as his enemies, has had only indulgence for them; from that time he gained our hearts; his generosity and that of his officers, animated by his example, who by the charity they distributed, drew the population from the misery into which the misfortunes of war had plunged it. forced us to admire and respect him.

After the complete conquest of this Province, he, by his affability, compelled us to love him; he established in his Government a Military Council, composed of upright officers, who without prejudice and without emolument have decided, or rather have reconciled litigants; there has been no instance of an appeal from their decisions! How many families has he not helped and supported? We enjoyed till the date of Civil Government a tranquillity which almost made us forget our mother country. Subject to his wise decisions and ordinances we were happy; the old subjects did not think of

complaining; we shall long regret the mildness of that Government. Our hopes have been destroyed by the establishment of the Civil Government that had been so highly extolled; we saw rise with it Cabal, trouble and confusion, and we were astonished to see in infamous libels, whose authors went unpunished, the basest and most flagrant calumny. We, accustomed to respect our superiors and to obey the orders issued by our Sovereign, to which we were led by our education as much as our religion, respected the new civil officers, we were bound by their decisions, we executed their orders. The high salaries of these officers indeed astonished but without shocking us; struck with the irregularity on several occasions we lamented without complaining, we would still keep silence, had we not been struck by the most grievous stroke we have just felt. Our protector, our father is taken from us, like a father he listened to our complaints; like a protector he remedied or at least alleviated them promptly, and he comforted us by his kindness; without him what will become of us? The old subjects, at least the greater number of them since the date of civil government have only sought to oppress us, to render us their slaves and perhaps to seize our property. The emigration of a number of our best fellow citizens, which we regret, has been the fatal consequence of their evil proceedings, and the alarming rumours they continue to spread remain to us as authentic monuments of them.

The protection with which Mr. Murray has honoured us has retained several of us who had determined to leave the Province. The politeness and deference of this Governor for persons of good birth, the assistance he has not ceased to obtain for them, have drawn on him the hatred of the greatest part of the old subjects.

A Cabal of people who have come in the train of the army, as well as clerks and agents for the London merchants deserve no preference, not only from their conduct but from their want of education, and, contemptible in themselves, piqued by the justice rendered to them in this respect, they have gained over a few of our fellow countrymen, several of whom had the most perfect similarity to them, others acting without reflection have supported them and signed the blackest calumnies in the language which they did not understand; there were even some among the latter who acknowledged that they had been taken unawares, and men of honour have not ceased to disclaim such detestable proceedings. But who are mostly those among the new subjects who have augmented the cabal which takes advantages of their signatures. People without birth, without education, without scruple, disbanded soldiers from the French Army, barbers, servants, even children; several of them to become shopkeepers have made themselves the slaves of their creditors, even Jews, who, accustomed to respect the citizens in those parts of the world where they are tolerated, have not hesitated in this Province to exalt themselves above the King's new subjects, to whom this kind of men was previously unknown and who, as well as their adherents, have ruined and reduced to the last state of wretchedness those who made common cause with them; a fit reward for their arrogance and weakness.

We did not know the subject of the complaints the Cabal made use of against Mr. Murray. Those of the new subjects who had the folly to subscribe them could not inform us, and how could they do so? They signed without knowing what they were doing; they had no motive for doing so; they were slaves to their creditors. It would be easy for us to discuss the items of these complaints, and to show their falsehood. He has annoyed us, say these deceivers! What vexations has he committed? We are ignorant of them. If it please Your Majesty to give orders to have the heads of the accusations communicated to us, we will answer them as faithful subjects. Have we not even the right to demand them in order to avoid such a scandal? It belongs to our honour to maintain truth and to unmask imposture. What would the State gain by not satisfying the new subjects in so just a cause? We do not like change; we were suited in the government of Mr. Murray; we knew his character, we were fully satisfied with his probity and his feelings of humanity; he was fitted to bring your new subjects to a regard for the yoke of your kindly domination by his care to make it light. Few men have united so many talents; no one is endowed with a better heart; we have never thought, spoken, or written differently. Why compel twenty-five or thirty thousand families, who compose this Province, to enter on a new study?

We wish to be fully persuaded of the good intentions to the State respecting us, and that Mr. Carleton, who is selected to take the place of Mr. Murray, is endowed with excellent qualities, that he will follow the example of his predecessor and will have the same regard for us; but we do not know him, whilst on the contrary we are perfectly acquainted with him whom we are losing. We respect Mr. Carleton without knowing him, and we will obey him since he is chosen by Your Majesty; but if he protects us, if he renders us justice and maintains us in our rights, soon those who are jealous of us will cabal against him and complain again, and to satisfy the caprice

of a handful of people who find persons in London to support them, knowing nothing respecting the subject of their discontent, except what they are told, it will be necessary to appoint a new Governor every year, and we poor Canadians will be sacrificed without being able to represent our case, what idea could we have of the laws of our government? We believe them to be wise; we receive them, but what would this serve, if British liberty were granted only to the old subjects? They would complain without reason to satisfy their fickleness and caprice, and would employ calumnies which Hell alone can invent, and they would be favourably listened to. Would it not be allowed to your new subjects to speak and would a Governor be condemned without a hearing, who was making them happy to their satisfaction? Our language is not that of a people groaning under oppression, we dare to tell Your Majesty that a man entrusted by your orders to ascertain here the truth, will find in all the towns and parishes the reverse of what the malice of our enemies and of those of Mr. Murray has invented to blacken him and to grieve us.

We address ourselves to Your Majesty as the father of a new people, and as the protector of the rights you have desired to grant us; we make you a sharer of the pains and regrets we cannot refuse to feel for Mr. Murray.

We supplicate you, if you will cast your looks on us, to accede to our wishes, to retain Mr. Murray as head of this Province, which his valour preserved, and who by his generosity and mildness has attached the people to him, and to send him back to us.

We venture to hope for this favour from Your Majesty that you would pay regard to our representations, that you would protect them and us, by sending a favourable reply, rendering truth triumphant. We shall not cease to offer prayers to Heaven for the health of Your Majesty and of the Royal Family.

La Naudiere
J. Duchesnay
F. L. Cugnet
Rigauville
D. Vincelotte
Ja. Couillard
Louis Dupuis
Luc St. Couat
Michel Blois
Couillard
J. Roy
Decharnay
Gaspé
Lachevrotiere
J. Couillard

Aubert
Augustin Chavigni
A. Hamelin
Gastineau
D. M. Deplaing.

(73)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 295.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Carleton to His Excellency General Gage at Quebec 15th Feby 1767.

Sir

The Forts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Fort George are in a very declining condition of which, I believe, Your Excellency is well informed, should you approve of keeping up these Posts, it will be best to repair them as soon as possible. As you have been pleased to desire my opinion of this measure, I must freely say, that the more I consider the state of affairs on this Continent, more and stronger Reasons present themselves, and I am the more convinced, it is not only expedient, but indispensably necessary for the Interest of Great Britain, and His Majesty's Service, not only to keep these in good Repair, but to erect a proper Place of arms near the Town of New York, and a Citadel in or near the Town of Quebec. These with temporary works thrown up occasionally at the other Places of Landing and Embarking, will secure the Communication with the Mother Country, and will link these two Provinces so strongly together, as will add great security to both, they will facilitate the Transport of ten or fifteen thousand men in the Beginning of a war, from the one to the other, as the circumstances require.

The natural and political Situation of the Provinces of Quebec and New York is such, as must for ever give them great Influence and weight in the American System, therefore no Pains, Address, nor Expence too great to root out Faction or Party, to establish Tranquility, and a firm attachment to His Majesty's Government, at the same time it is equally essential to establish that security and strength as can properly curb and overawe, should such ever arise, who by the Ties of loyal Subjects and honest Men, are not thoroughly bound to their Duty.

This communication so established, will give security to the King's Magazines, till then precarious, and doubtfull who may avail themselves of them; will separate the Northern from the Southern Colonies, will afford an easy and advantageous opportunity of transporting His Forces into any part of this continent, and may prevent the greatest of all Inconveniencies, Delay and Loss of Time in the Beginning of a War.

The Walls of this Place have not been repaired since the Siege, which left many Holes in the Masonry, that will precipitate their Ruin if not soon repaired; I have not one Engineer in the Province to form an Estimate of the Repairs, or make any Alteration that may be immediately necessary.

(A true copy)

H. T. Cramahé.

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter from General Carleton to His Excellency General Gage dated at Quebec 25th Feby 1767.
In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 9th Novr.

(74)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q, Vol. 4, p. 122.

Quebec, 27th March, 1767.

Sir,—

.....
Your complaints of the Canadians, by which name I distinguish the Subjects of the King our Master, acquired by the Conquest of this Province, are so general that I can only make my Enquiries and speak to them in as general a manner; When I talk here of that Perfidy, false Stories, or views of exciting an Indian War, you complain of, they appeal to Colonel Gladwin, and all the rest of our officers, who were Spectators of the last, and are confident these will give Testimony of very different Dispositions in them at that Time, when such views might have been more excusable than at present, and that even then some of them were utterly ruined by the Indians for their attachment to us; they very plainly shew me, that such a War must be very destructive to them, and in case of such a Misfortune, that they did then, and would again cheerfully take up arms, to reduce them to Peace by Force. Ever since my arrival, I have observed the Canadians with an attention bordering upon suspicion, but hitherto have not discovered in them either actions or Sentiments, which do not belong to good subjects.

General Gage acquaints me you complain to him of seven Persons who are among the Indians without Passports, namely: Capucin, Lorain, La Motte, Pot De Vin, Bartholomé, Bergeron, and Richarville; the last six are Canadians, and have been settled among the Miamis and Ouias from fifteen to twenty years, except Pot de Vin, who has been settled as long at Detroit, but I can give you no certain account of Capucin, who is also among the Miamis, it is supposed that is not his real name, but a fictitious one, to conceal that of his Family.

.....
Endorsed:—'Copy of Lieut. Govr. Carleton's answer to Sir Willm Johnson Bt. Super'int. &c 27th March, 1767. In Lieut. Govr. Carleton's (No. 4) of the 28th March, 1767."

(75)

THE FRENCH NOBLESSE IN CANADA AFTER 1760.

Sir Guy Carleton to Lord Shelburne.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 4, p. 273.)

Quebec, 24th Sept. 1767.

My Lord—The annexed Memorial of Monsieur De Lery is too long, and too much detailed to require any explanation from me; as it exhibits a sketch of the French Ministers sentiments concerning the Canadians, I send it to your Lordship unaltered. Mr. Neville and the Duke of Bedford can best inform you what these Services were, on which he grounds his Petition, and claims their promise of two hundred pounds a year Pension; but whether they were of more or less advantage to His Majesty's Service, it appears very clearly they have occasioned his being strongly marked by the French Ministers, and that the first Canadian Gentleman, who attached himself to the King's Interests, as soon as he became his Subject, should be obliged to quit his native country, together with his Distress, must afford them matter of Triumph.

I must in justice to this Gentleman say, that I have great Reason to be satisfied with his conduct since my arrival in the Province, that I think him qualified to be useful in Different Capacities, and am convinced, whatever Prince he engages to serve, He will go through his Duty with that zeal and Fidelity, which always distinguishes a Man of Honour. Besides should His Excellency be graciously pleased to grant his Petition it will serve as a Proof to the Gentlemen of Canada, that they are not forever to be excluded from the Service of their present Sovereign; this opinion I have endeavoured to remove, as I am thoroughly convinced it is for the British Interests upon this Continent, they should be employed; From a Despair of this Sort, I imagine it must have proceeded, that several young Gentlemen, whose Parents remain in this Country, and whose Fortunes they must inherit, have entered into the French Service, as your Lordship may see, by the inclosed Return, the three first are Heirs of three of the best and richest Families in the Province.

Should His Majesty think proper to raise a Canadian Regiment, no doubt but these Gentlemen would prepare to serve, where Both Duty and Interest require them; 'till that scheme shall be adopted, the placing a few of the young Gentlemen in the American Battalions would make them turn their eyes from France, which undoubtedly will endeavour to preserve an Interest here for future events.

I am with much Respect, and Esteem,
Your Lordship's Most Obedient
Humble Servant,
Guy Carleton.

The Earl of Shelburne, one of
His Majesty's Principal Secretaries
of State.

(76)

SIR GUY CARLETON TO LORD SHELBURNE.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 5.-1, p. 260)

Quebec, 25th Nov. 1767.

My Lord:—

As your Lordship informs me, that the Improvement of the Civil Constitution of Quebec is under the most serious and deliberate consideration of His Majesty's servants, and that any Light, which can be procured on that subject, will be material, I shall endeavour to represent the true situation of the Province, and add such observations, as have occurred to me, with that candor, which, I think, the King's service may require, in compliance with what your Lordship seems to desire, and least His Majesty's servants, employed in a work of so great Importance, tho' of profound knowledge and Judgment for want of having truly represented, to them, objects at so great a Distance, and in themselves so different from what is to be found in any other of His Dominions, I say, least without a true Representation of Things The King's service should not profit, as much as possible, of the great abilities of His Servants.

I take for granted, that the natural Rights of men, the British interests on this continent, and the securing the King's Dominion over this Province must ever be the principal points in view, in forming its Civil Constitution, and Body of Laws, and that the last, is the foundation of all without which, other schemes can be little better than meer castles in the Air; it will naturally follow, I should first shew, How far this foundation is, or is not firmly laid.

The Town of Quebec is the only Post, in this Province, that has the least claim to be called a fortified place, for the flimsy wall about Montreal, was it not falling to ruins, could only turn Musketry, it will be sufficiently accurate for the present Purpose, if this Town be considered as a good camp for ten or twelve Battalions whose Front is fortified by a Bastioned Rampart, faced with Masonry, built for the most part upon a Rock; without Ditch or outwork; its Profile slight for a Fortress, is substantial for an Encampment, its Parapet in very bad Order. The Flanks and Rear of this Encampment, in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, were closed partly by a thin wall, the rest by great stakes now carried away, or rotten, these ran along the Heights and Precipices at a little Distance from the River St. Lawrence, the Bason, and River St. Charles, so as to leave a Passage between this Line and these waters. With a number of Troops sufficient for this Post those Flanks and rear might in a little time be secured and guarded so, as to reduce an enemy to form his attack in Front, but in proportion as the Numbers fall short, the Danger increases of being surrounded and stormed with little ceremony, especially when this Line is open in many places, as at present.

The King's Forces in this Province, supposing them compleat to the allowance and all in perfect health, rank and file, would amount to sixteen hundred and twenty-seven men, the King's old subjects in this Province, supposing them all willing, might furnish about five hundred men, able to carry arms exclusive of his Troops, that is supposing all the Kings's Troops and old Subjects collected in Quebec; with two months hard labour, they might put the works in a tolerable State of Repair, and would amount to about one-third of the forces necessary for its defence.

The new Subjects could send into the Field about eighteen thousand men, well able to carry arms; of which number, above one-half have already served with as much valor, with more zeal, and more military knowledge for America than the Regular Troops of France, that were joined with them.

As the Common People are greatly to be influenced by their Seigniors, I annex a Return of the Noblesse of Canada, showing with tolerable exactness, their age, Rank, and present Place of abode, together with such Natives of France, as served in the Colony Troops so early in Life, as to give them a knowledge of the Country, an Acquaintance and Influence over the People, equal to Natives of the same Rank; from whence it appears that there are in France, and in the French Service, about one hundred officers, all ready to be sent back, in case of a war, to a Country they are intimately acquainted with and with the assistance of some Troops, to stir up a People accustomed to pay them implicit obedience. It further shows, there remain in Canada, not many more than seventy of those, who ever had been in the French Service, not one of them in the King's Service nor one who, from any motive whatever, is induced to support His Government and Dominion, Gentlemen, who have lost their employments, at least by becoming His Subjects, and as they are not Bound by any Offices of trust or Profit, we should only deceive ourselves by supposing, they would be active in the Defence of a People, that has deprived them of their Honors, Privileges, Profits and Laws, and in their stead, have introduced much Expense, Chicanery and confusion with a Deluge of new Laws unknown and unpublished. Therefore all circumstances considered, while Matters continue in their present State, the most we may hope for from the Gentlemen who remain in the Province, is a Deference for the King's Commission in whatever Hand it may be lodged; this they almost to a Man have persevered in, since my arrival, notwithstanding much pains have been taken to engage them in Parties, by a few, whose Duty, and whose office should have taught them better. This Disposition the French Minister seems to have forseen as appears by orders calculated to draw them from Canada into France, well knowing that such as remained, were bound by Duty and Honour to do nothing against their Allegiance to the King, under whose Government they live, whereas those, who go to France are to all Intents and Purposes officers in the French Service and liable to be sent on any Service.

For these reasons, I imagine an Edict was published in 1762, Declaring, that notwithstanding the low state of the King's Finances, the Salary of the Captains

of the Colony Troops of Canada should be raised from four Hundred and fifty Livres, the Establishment at which their pay was fixed at first, to six hundred Livres a year, to be paid quarterly, upon the Footing of Officers in Full Pay, by the treasurer of the Colonies, at the Quarters assigned them by His Majesty in Touraine, and that such of them, as did not repair thither, should be struck off, the King's intentions being, that the said officers should remain in that Province until further Orders and not depart from thence without a written Leave from the Secretary of State for the Marine Department.

A few of these Officers have been sent to the other Colonies, but the greater part still remain in Touraine, and the arrears due to those, who have remained any Time in this Country, are punctually discharged, upon their Emigration from hence, and Obedience to the above mentioned Injunction.

By the Secretary of State's Letter, a certain Quantity of wine, Duty free, is admitted to enter the Towns, where these Canadian Officers Quarter, for their use, according to their several Ranks.

Having arranged the strength of His Majesty's old and new subjects, and shewn the great superiority of the Latter, it may not be amiss to observe, that there is not the least probability, this present superiority should ever diminish, on the contrary 'tis more than probable it will increase and strengthen daily; The Europeans who migrate never will prefer the long inhospitable winters of Canada, to the more cheerful climates, and more fruitful soil of His Majesty's Southern Provinces: The few old subjects, at present in this Province, have been mostly left here by Accident, and are either disbanded officers, soldiers, or followers of the army, who, not knowing how to dispose of themselves elsewhere, settled where they were left at the Reduction; or else they are Adventurers in Trade, or such as could not remain at Home, who set out to mend their Fortune, at the opening of this new Channel for commerce, but experience has taught almost all of them that this Trade requires a strict Frugality they are all strangers to, or to which they will not submit, so that some, from more advantageous Views elsewhere, others from necessity, have already left this Province, and I greatly fear many more, for the same Reasons, will follow their Example, in a few years, But while this severe climate, and the Poverty of the Country discourages all but the natives, its Healthfulness is such, that these multiply daily, so that, barring a catastrophe shocking to think of, this Country must to the end of Time, be peopled by the Canadian Race, who already have taken such firm Root, and got to so great a Height, that any new Stock transplanted will be totally hid, and imperceptible amongst them, except in the Towns of Quebec and Montreal.

'Twas partly from these Considerations, as well as those mentioned in my Letter of the 15th February last to the Commander in Chief, a copy of which I inclosed to your Lordship, that I recommended the building of a citadel within the Town of Quebec, that the Troops might have a Post capable of being defended by their numbers, till succour could be sent them from Home, or from the neighbouring Colonies, for should a French war surprise the Province in its present condition, the Canadian officers sent from France with Troops, might assemble such a Body of People, as would render the King's Dominion over the Province very precarious, while it depends on a few Troops, in an extensive Post, open in many places. A proper citadel once erected, the situation of things will be greatly changed, the King's Enemies who would attempt to disturb this Province must hazard a large stake, and the chances against them will be very considerably augmented; Greater Preparations must be made, which must give an alarm at Home, a greater number of troops must be sent, with a train of Artillery for a Siege, and a large Quantity of Ammunition, and Provisions, with a Fleet of Transports and Ships of War to protect and assist in the different Operations, whose success may be uncertain, but which at all events, must give Time for a Superior Squadron to follow, and catch them in the river, as well as to the Troops and Militia from the neighbouring Provinces to pour into this; a work of this nature is not only necessary, as Matters now stand, but supposing the Canadians could be interested to take a Part in the Defence of the King's Government, a change not impossible to bring about, yet Time must bring forth events that will render it essentially necessary for the British Interests on this Continent, to secure this Port of communication with the Mother Country; as might easily be proved, were they not too remote, for the present Purpose.

Inclosed is the Plan for such a Citadel as I think would answer all the present and future Purposes of Great Britain, tho' if I am not mistaken, Captain Gordon the Engineer has already transmitted Home one more detailed, with a calculation of the expence necessary for its construction.

I am with much respect and esteem,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient
Humble Servant,
Guy Carleton.

The Earl of Shelburne one of His
Majesty's principal Secretaries.

(77)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 5, pt 1, page 370.

(No. 26)

Quebec 20th Janry 1768.

My Lord:

In my Letter (No. 20) I have given the Military state of this Province, with a scheme for strengthening it by a Citadel; I shall now add, that, was this already constructed, and I could suppose it impossible for any foreign Enemy to shake the King's Dominion over the Province, still I shall think the Interests of Great Britain but half advanced, unless the Canadians are inspired with a cordial Attachment, and zeal for the King's Government; How far they are removed from that desirable Disposition, may easily be discovered, if brought to the Test, and examined by the general Cause of the Attachments of Men Self-Interest; if it shall not be found more their Interest to remain as at present, than to return under the Dominion of their former Sovereign, they certainly have not all those Motives, which induce Men to Honor to disregard the general Rule; there remain, 'tis true, an Oath of Allegiance, which may keep some Quiet in Case of a French Expedition, and the Punishments due to Traitors, which will be regarded, as long as Government has Force sufficient to inflict them; it therefore seems to me highly expedient, that, at least, those Causes of Complaint, which affect the Bulk of the People, and come home almost to every Man, should be removed; That they should be maintained in the quiet Possession of their Property, according to their own customs, which Time immemorial, has been regarded by them and their Ancestors, as Law and Equity; and that the Approach to Justice and Government, for the Redress of Wrongs, be practicable and convenient, in Place of being ruinous by Delay, and an Expence disproportioned to their Poverty; but this is neither in the Power of Justice or Government here to grant him, while the Supreme Court is obliged to Judge according to the Laws of England, and the different Offices can claim, as their Right, Fees calculated for much wealthier Provinces.

But, Beside these Points of Justice, as long as the Canadians are deprived of all Places of Trust and Profit, they never can forget, they no longer are under the Dominion of their natural Sovereign; tho' this immediately concerns but few, yet it affects the Minds of all, from a national spirit, whichever interests itself at the general Exclusion of their Countrymen; three or four of their principal Gentlemen, with the Rank of Counsellors, was it little more than Honorary, tho' on many Occasions they might prove useful; a few Companies of Canadian Foot judiciously officered, with three or four trifling Employments, in the Civil Department, would make very considerable Alterations on the Minds of the People; It would divide the Canadians at least, and secure a Part, in Case of a French war, that would emulate the zeal of the King's National Troops; It would hold up Hopes to the Gentlemen, that their Children, without being bred up in France, or the French Service, might support their Families in the Service of the King their Master, and by their Employments preserve them from sinking into the lower class of People, by the division and subdivision of Lands every Generation.

I have found in Canada, what I believe may be found everywhere, the People fond of the Laws and Form of Government they have been educated under, tho' scarcely a Man that Knows one sound Principle of Government, or Law; Three or four of the old Subjects, about a year ago, brought me the rough Draft of a Petition for a general Assembly, and hoped, I had no Objection to their having it signed by all the British, who wished to have one called; I told them, I had many Objections to great numbers signing a Request of any Kind, that it seldom conveyed the sincere Desire of the

Subscribers, that it had an appearance of an Intention to take away the Freedom of granting or refusing the Request; I had no Objection to Assemblies in General, yet such was the peculiar Situation of Canada, tho' I had turned that Matter often in my Thoughts, I could hit off no Plan that was not liable to many Inconveniencies, and some danger; That perhaps they might be more fortunate, and I should think myself obliged to them, if they should shew me one, that could be of advantage to the Province, and the King's Service, assuring them, such a Plan wanted no Petitions to recommend it to me; about a Month after, they asked me, if I had considered of their Request, and I repeated my former answer; since which I have often urged them, of my own accord, to let me have their scheme for an Assembly, and to inform me, who they thought should be the Electors, and who the Representatives, but to no Purpose; so that I imagined, they had laid aside all Thoughts of the Kind, till lately one John McCord, who wants neither sense nor Honesty, and formerly kept a small Ale House in the poor Suburbs of a little Country Town in the North of Ireland, appearing zealous for the Presbyterian Faith, and having made a little Money, had gained some Credit among People of his sort; this Person purchased some spots of Ground, and procured Grants of more, close to the Barracks, where he run up sheds, and placed poor People to sell his spirits to the Soldiers, finding that this lucrative Trade has lately been checked, by inclosing the Barracks to prevent the Soldiers getting drunk all Hours of the Day and Night, He has commenced Patriot, and with the assistance of the late Attorney General, and three or four more, egged on by Letters from Home, are at work again for an Assembly, and purpose having it signed by all they can influence: On the other Hand the better sort of Canadians fear nothing more than popular Assemblies, which, they conceive, tend only to render the People refractory and insolent; Enquiring what they thought of them, they said, they understood some of our Colonies had fallen under the King's Displeasure, owing to the Misconduct of their Assemblies, and that they should think themselves unhappy, if a like Misfortune befell them. It may not be improper here to observe, that the British Form of Government, transplanted into this Continent, never will produce the same Fruits as at Home, chiefly, because it is impossible for the Dignity of the Throne, or Peerage to be represented in the American Forests; Besides, the Governor having little or nothing to give away, can have but little Influence; in Place of that, as it is his Duty to retain all in proper Subordination, and to restrain those Officers, who live by Fees, from running them up to Extortion; these Gentlemen, put into Offices, that require Integrity, Knowledge and Abilities, because they bid the highest Rent to the Patentee, finding themselves checked in their Views of Profit, are disposed to look on the Person, who disappoints them, as their Enemy, and without going so far as to forfeit their Employments, they in general will be shy of granting that assistance, the King's Service may require, unless they are all equally disinterested or equally corrupt. It therefore follows, where the executive Power is lodged with a Person of no Influence, but coldly assisted by the rest in Office, and where the two first Branches of the Legislature have neither influence, nor Dignity, except it be from the extraordinary characters of the Men, That a popular Assembly, which preserves it's full Vigor, and in a Country where all Men appear nearly upon a Level, must give a strong Bias to Republican Principles; Whether the independent spirit of a Democracy is well adapted to a subordinate Government of the British Monarchy, or their uncontrollable notions ought to be encouraged in a Province, so lately Conquered, and Circumstanced as this is, I with great Humility submit to the Superior Wisdom of His Majesty's Councils: for my own part, I shall think myself Fortunate, if I have succeeded in rendering clear Objects, not always distinctly discernable at so great a Distance.

I am with much Respect and Esteem

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

Guy Carleton.

The Earl of Shelburne

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 20th Janry 1768.

Govr. Carleton.

(No. 26)

R 15th April

A 14.

A general state of the Canadian Noblesse, actually resident in the Province of Quebec, or in the French Service, and where resident in November 1767.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 5. 1, P. 269.)

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Montreal.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children
*Pecaudy de Contrecoeur	Capt.	61	Montreal	2
*De St. Ours	Capt.	57	"	3
*De Belestre	Capt.	50	"	5
*De Montesson	Capt.	52	Trois Rivières	M
*Rouville the Elder	Capt.	58	Chambly	
De Lotbinière	Capt.	44	Vaudreuil	2
*De Lorimier	Capt.	61	La Chine	4
*St. Luc	Capt.	53	Montreal	3
Douville	Capt. Rd.	65	"	1
Des Musseau	Capt. Rd.	60	Sault St. Louis	
Niverville	Lieut.	47	Trois Rivières	3
D'Argenteuil	Lieut. Rd.	58	Montreal	
Celoron	Lieut.	36	"	
Joncaire Chabert	Lieut.	48	Detroit	4
Beaubassin	Lieut.	50	Montreal	M
St. Blain	Lieut.	47	"	
Richarville	Lieut.	47	Sorel	2
Normanville	Lieut.	40	Trois Rivières	1
Montisambert	Lieut.	40	Chambly	2
Bleury	Lieut.	40	"	2
La Valterie	Lieut.	25	Terrebonne	1
La Plante	Lieut. Rd.	55	La Prairie	1
Du May	Lieut.	35	Boucherville	1
Lotbinière Son	Ens.	19	Vaudreuil	
Catalogne	Ens.	33	Montreal	1
La Veranderie	Ens.	40	"	
Clignancourt	Ens.	30	"	1
La Bruere	Ens.	28	Boucherville	M
La Ronde	Ens.	46	Montreal	3
Lorimier Son	Ens.	34	"	1
Cuissy	Ens.	35	"	1
Raimbault Cuistre	Ens.	50	"	1
Hertel	Ens.	34	"	M
Verneuill	Ens.	30	La Chine	
Linctot the elder	Ens.	35	Vercheres	M
Linctot the Younger	Ens.	30	"	
La Morandière		30	Varennes	1
La Periere	Ens.	30	Boucherville	
(Normanville)	Ens.	30	"	
Wutelas	Ens.	30	"	M
Le Langlaiserie		65	Isd. St. Therese	
Grosbois Son	Cadet	28	Boucherville	
Cournoyer	Cadet	45	Trois Rivières	
Dumont	Cadet	45	"	1
Bailly	Cadet	50	Varennes	9
Louviere	Cadet	50		
Des Musseau	Cadet	25	Montreal	
La Magdeleine	Cadet	25	Longue Pointe	
Perigny	Cadet	20	Montreal	
Benoit	Cadet	25	"	
Dejordy de Villebon	Cadet	40	Isd. St. Therese	M
Derigée	Cadet	35	La Prairie	M
Filis	Cadet	30	Trois Rivières	M
Niverville the Elder	Cadet	48	Chambly	9
La Corne	Cadet	18	Terrebonne	
Du Sable	Cadet	30	La Naurai	M
De Richarville	N	65	Sorel	
De Richarville de la Colonnerie	N	60	Isle aux Castors	

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Montreal.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
De Tonnancourt was a Judge (--nerie) (name illegible) Comd a Mercht. Vess.)	N	55	Trois Rivières	10
De Cuissy	N	36	Montreal	1
Bleury	N	71	Montreal	2
Deschambault was Agt. of the Ind. Coy.	N	60	"	3
La Bruere	N	57	"	6
Boucher	N	53	Boucherville	7
Monbrun	N	55	"	
Grosbois	N	50	"	
Woutelasse	N	60	"	
Rouville was a judge	N	60	Boucherville	3
Cresse Father	N	60	Trois Rivières	
Cresse Son	N	35	"	1
Gatinaux	N	48	St. Anne	M
Varenes three Brothers and one Sister, the eldest not above 12.			Varenes	
Licards 5 or 6			Machiche	
Lamirande 5 or 6			Riv. de Loup	
St. Francois	N	40	St. Francois	1
Martelle		7	La Chenaye	
De Falaise		7	Maskinonge	
De La Mothe	N	60	Detroit	
De Langlade	N	35	Michillimackinac	
De Perigny	N	50	"	
De Quandres three of them the eldest 18 the youngest 10 years of age.			Detroit	

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Quebec.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
*De La Naudiere	Capt.	58	Quebec	3
*De Lery	Capt.	45	"	4
De Gaspey named in 1760 for the order not invd.	Capt.	50	St. Jean de L'Islette	5
De Chenay Father	Capt. Rd.	65	Beauport	2
De Chenay Son	Lieut.	27	"	M
De Rigauville	Lieut.	49	"	1
De Fleurimond	Lieut.	40	"	
La Chevrottiere	Ens.	35	La Chevrottiere	
Langis	Lieut.	50	Champlain	
Langis	Ens.	45	"	
De Champlain	Cadet	38	"	
La Durañtais	Cadet	27	"	
Tachereau the Elder	Cadet	25	Quebec	
Tachereau the Younger	Cadet	24	"	
Sallabery	Cadet	15	"	
La Cardaniere	Cadet	36	Kamouraska	M
Gouillon Father native of France	Cadet	55	Quebec	
Gouillon Son	Cadet of Arty.	24	"	
De Plaine	Capt. of Resve.	65	"	
Boucherville	Lieut. of Resve.	64	"	
La Gorgendiere	N	61	Deschambault	2
De Beaumont	N	36	Beaumont	6
Couillard	N	36	Beaumont	
Vincelot	N	40	Point a La Caille	2
		55	Cape. St. Ignace	

Canadian Noblesse resident in the Dist. of Quebec.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
Damour 2 or 3				
La Durantais 2 or 3				
Couillard Duprey	N	25		M
Guillemin was Judge of the Admy	N	51	Quebec	2
Cugnet was clerk in the Domaine office	N	48	"	4
* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.				

Canadian Officers in France.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
*The Marquess de Vaudreuil	Gov. Genl.		Paris	
*Rigaud de Vaudreuil	Gov. Montl.		"	M
Chevr. de Longueuil	Gov. T. Rvs.		"	
*De Ramsay	Lieut. de Roy		"	
*Le Verrier	Major		"	
*De Sabrevois	Major		"	
*De Sennonville	Aide Major		Tours	
*Pean	Aide Major		Paris	
*De Gannes	Aide Major		Loches	
*Charly	Aide Major		Goree	
*Des Meloises	Aide Major		Paris	
Longueil	Aide Major			
(Name lost from original M.S.)				
*Repentigny	Captain	47	Paris	
*Courtemanche went over to France this year	Captain	55		
*La Colombiere	Captain	39	Loches	
*Boishebert	Captain	47	Rouen	2
*Montigny	Captain	50	Blois	2
Falaises	Captain	45	Tours	2
*Chevr. Repentigny	Captain	46	Paris	1
*Marin	Captain	55	"	2
*La Chauvignerie	Captain	45	Loches	1
*Celoron	Captain	37	Tours	
*Chaussegros de Lery	Captain	45	Cayenne	
*Berranger	Captain	42	Guadeloupe	
Marquis d'Albergatti	Captain	50	Isle Bourbon	M
*Beaujeau	Captain	45	Mississippi	1
Couterot	Captain		Versailles	1
*Lusignan	Capt. Arty	40	Brest	1
Jacaux Fredmont	Capt. Arty	46	Cayenne	
Duplessis Fabert	Capt. Rd.	50	Tours	
Du Muy	Capt. Rd.	55	"	
Herbin	Lieut.	26	Provl. Regt.	
Des Noyelles	Lieut.	48	Cayenne	2
D'Espervanche	Lieut.	30		M
Bayeulle	Lieut.	47	Paris	
Canut	Lieut.	46	"	M
Cournoyer	Lieut.	40	Tours	
Lanouille	Lieut.	46	Tours	
Lanoue	Lieut.	50	Loches	
St. Vincent	Lieut.	30	Rochelle	
Sabrevois	Lieut.	30	Loches	
Rousseaux	Lieut.	31	"	1
Sac Epeé	Lieut.	46	Tours	
De Cabanac	Ens.	25	"	
Du Coudrey	Ens.	26	in Touraine	
St. Simon	Ens.	36	Isles Malouines	
Chambly	Ens.	30	in Touraine	

Canadian Officers in France.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Children.
Boucherville	Ens.	25	in Touraine	
Cery	Ens.	25	"	
Cery	Ens.	23	"	
Villeray D'Artigney	Ens.	25	"	
La Frambois	Ens.	30	Gaudeloupe	
Mantete	Ens.	25	in Touraine	
Villeray	Ens.	22	"	
D'Artigney	Ens.	22	"	
Dusable	Ens.	21	"	
Du Buisson	Eps.	20	"	
Du Buisson	Ens.	19	"	
Celoron	Ens.	20	"	
Grosbois	Ens.	25	"	
Lignery	Ens.	20	"	
Lignery	Ens.	19	"	
Chevr. De Repentigny	Lt. de Vaisseau	39	"	
De St. Ours	Lieut.	21	Regt. of Guienne	
Bellestre	Lieut.	28	Missisipi	
De Lanaudiere	Lieut.	21	Regt. of La Sarre	
La Corne	Lieut.	15		
Du Chenay	Lieut.	21	Royal Arty	
Rouville	Lieut.	20	Royal Roussillon	
Aubert	Lieut.	25	Pondicherry	
Deschambault	Lieut.	20		
Tachereau	Lieut.	24	St. Domingo	
Douville	Lieut.	25	Martinico	
Bleury	Lieut.			
Blainville	Lieut.			
De Quindre	Lieut.	21	Regt. Dauphin	
Dechambault	Ens.			
Guellemm			At Rochefort	

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

Officers natives of France who came over Cadets into the Colony Troops wherein they were preferred and went to France with them, where they are treated as Canadian Officers.

*De Raymond	Captain	55	Angouleme
*De Vassan	Captain	47	Blois
*Le Mercier	Capt. Arty.	45	in Normandy
‡Maisiere	Capt.	47	Goree
De Benoit	Capt.		
Le Borgne	Capt.	46	Loches
*St. Laurent	Capt.	50	Paris
‡ Monin at present Lt. Col.		45	"
Resd. of a regt. of Foot.	Capt.	44	
Rocheblaves	Lieut.	40	Tours
Barollon	Lieut.	48	Paris
De Clapier	Lieut.	40	Goree
De La Vallette	Lieut.	30	Tours
Chevr. Drouilli	Lieut.	40	"
Drouillon	Lieut.	36	Loches
*Villemont		45	Orleans.

‡ Native of France, Captain of the Troupes de Colonie at Missisipi, came to Canada in 1760, has got Rank of Col. and a Regt. at Missisipi in the Spanish Service.

Civil Officers and Offrs. of the Port.	Employed heretofore.	Residence	No. of Children.
Joseph Perthuis	Of the Conseil Supr.	Paris	3
Thomas Cugnet	" "	"	1
Ignace Perthuis	Procureur de Roi	"	3
Landrieve de Bordes	Commissaire	"	3
P. Du Linot	Grand Voyer		4
P. De Cery	Capt. of the Port.		4
P. Pellegrin	Lieut. of the Port.		6

‡ Thus marked have the Grand Croix of St. Louis.

* Have the Royal and Mily. Order of St. Louis.

M. are married and have no family that we know of.

N. have never been in service.

P. are good Pilots of the River St. Lawrence.

Noblesse in the Province of Quebec:—

Captains having the Order of St. Louis	9
Captains named in the order but not invested	1
Captains who have not the Order	4
Lieuts. having the Order	1
Lieuts.	16
Ens.	20
Officers de Reserve	2
Cadets	23
Have never been in the service	44
In the Upper Country who have never been in the Service.	6
Total	126

Noblesse in France:—

Grand Croix	1
Governors, Lt. Govrs, Majors, Aide Majors, Captains and Lts. of Ships of War having the Order of St. Louis	26
Aide Major and Cpts. not having the Order	6
Lieuts.	12
Ensigns	19
Canadian Officers in actual Service whose Parents have re- mained in Canada	15
Total	79

Natives of France, who came over to Canada as Cadets, served and were preferred in the Colony Troops, and are treated in France as Canadian Officers:—

Captains not having the Croix of St Louis	7
Had the Rank of Capt. in 1760, raised to that of Lieut. Col. in France K. of St. Louis	1
Lieuts.	7
Was Capt. in the Colonie Troops at Missisipi came to Canada in 1760, and is raised to the Rank of Col. in the Spanish Service at Mississipi Kt. of St. Louis	1
Having had Civil Employments.	5
Officers of the Port	2
Total	23

Sir Guy Carleton to Lord Hillsborough.

Archives, Series Q. Vol. 5, 2 p. 890.

Secret Correspondence.

Quebec, Nov. 20th, 1768.

My Lord—

Since my arrival in this province, I have not been able to make any discovery that induces me to give credit to the paper of intelligence inclosed in your Lordship's letter of the 14th of May last; nor do I think it probable the chiefs of their own free notion in time of peace, dare assemble in numbers, consult, and resolve on a revolt; or that an assembly of military men should be so ignorant, as to fancy they could defend themselves by a few fireships only, against any future attack from Great Britain after their experience in fifty nine.

Notwithstanding this, and their decent and respectful obedience to the King's Government hitherto, I have not the least doubt of their secret attachment to France and think this will continue as long as they are excluded from all employment under the British Government, and are certain of being reinstated, at least in their former Commissions under that of France, by which chiefly they supported themselves and families.

When I reflect that France naturally, has the affections of all the people; that to make no mention of fees of office & the vexations of the Law, we have done nothing to gain one man in the province, by making it his private interest to remain the King's Subject; and that the interests of many would be greatly promoted by a revolution; I own my not having discovered a treasonable correspondence, never was proof sufficient to convince me it did not exist in some degree, but I am inclined to think, if such a message has been sent, very few were entrusted with the secret, perhaps the Court of France, informed a year past by Mons. de Chatelet that the King proposed raising a Regiment of his new subjects caused this piece of intelligence to be communicated, to create a jealousy of the Canadians, and prevent a measure that might fix their attachments to the British Government, and probably of those Savages who have always acted with them; however that be, on receiving this news from France last spring, most of the Gentlemen in the province applied to me, and begged to be admitted into the King's Service, assuring me they would take every opportunity to testify their zeal, and gratitude for so great a mark of favour & tenderness, extended not only to them, but to their posterity.

When I consider further, that the King's dominion here is maintained but by a few troops, necessarily dispersed, without a place of security for their magazines, for their arms, or for themselves; amidst a numerous military people, the Gentlemen all officers of experience, poor, without hopes, that they or their descendants will be admitted into the service of their present Sovereign, I can have no doubt that France, as soon as determined to begin a war will attempt to regain Canada, should it be intended only to make a diversion, while it may reasonably be undertaken with little hazard, should it fail, and where so much may be gained, should it succeed. But should France begin a war in hopes the British Colonies will push matters to extremities, and she adopts the project of supporting them in their independent notions, Canada, probably, will then become the principal scene, where the fate of America may be determined. Affairs in this situation, Canada in the hands of France would no longer present itself as an enemy to the British colonies, but as an ally, a friend and a protector of their Independency.

Your Lordship must immediately perceive the many disadvantages Great Britain would labour under in a war of this nature; and on the other hand, how greatly Canada might forever support the British interests on this continent, for it is not united in any common principle, interest or wish with the other Provinces, in opposition to the Supreme seat of Government, was the King's dominion over it only strengthened by a citadel, which a few national troops might secure, and the natives attached, by making it their interest, to remain His Subjects.

My Letters to the Earl of Shelburne, Nos. 20, 23, 24, 25 and 26 contain more fully my humble opinion of the measures necessary to obtain this desirable end, convinced that the affections of the Canadians, or a great force, is necessary to secure this province in time of war, or, at least till the marine of France is thoroughly subdued: to those letters I refer your Lordship for further particulars, and am with great regard, and esteem.

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

Guy Carleton.
To the Earl of Hillsborough.

Lord Hillsborough to Sir Guy Carleton.

(Archives, Series Q. Vol. 6. p. 3.)

(*Secret.*)

Govr. Carleton.

Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1769.

Sir:—

I have received and laid before the King your Secret Dispatch of the 21st of Novr.

The Remarks you make upon the state and temper of His Majesty's new subjects will be of great utility in the consideration of the Measures now under deliberation, and do evince both the propriety and necessity of extending to that brave and faithful people a reasonable participation in those establishments, which are to form the Basis of the future Government of the Colony of Quebec; but I fear that from the spirit of the Laws of this Kingdom as well as from the general Prejudice of Mankind, and the dispositions that appear in all Parties and Factions to make every measure, however well considered & intended, the foundation of clamour and opposition it will hardly be practicable to extend such participation to the military Line, although, for my own part, I clearly see and agree in opinion that great advantages might be deduced both to the Colony and to the Mother-Country, for an establishment of that sort, under proper regulations.

The King very much approves of the method, you have pursued in the present instance, of separating opinions upon and relations of delicate facts and circumstances from your general numerical correspondence.

I am, &c.

Hillsborough.

(78)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

(No. 5)

Quebec 31st Jan'y 1771.

(*Secret.*)

My Lord!

I am Honored with Your Lordship's two Letters No. 34 and 35; The Intelligence conveyed in the former is so very interesting, that I shall not fail to give the most serious attention to all that passes in the Province, and to take into consideration, as well as concert, with the Officers of His Majesty's Forces; all such Measures, as may tend to secure and defend it.

I have the Satisfaction to inform Your Lordship, that the Canadians are at present, and seem perfectly disposed to continue to be quiet, nor is there, I believe, the least Reason to apprehend any Stir among them, while Spain only is concerned; they entertain the greatest Hopes, of being through His Majesty's well known Paternal Regard for all His Subjects, shortly relieved from several Inconveniencies under which they consider themselves at present to labour; upon which there is no necessity for me to enlarge, as they already have, and will no Doubt be more fully explained to Your Lordship by Governor Carleton.

In the mean Time, Your Lordship may depend, that I shall, to the utmost of my Power, exert my best Endeavours to promote their Welfare and Happiness as the surest and most effectual Means of advancing my Royal Master's Service in this important Colony.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's Most Obedient And Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé.

The Earl of Hillsborough

one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries

of State &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed—Quebec 31st Jan'y 1771.

Mr. Presidt Cramahé

(No. 5)

Secret

R. 22d April

D. 3.

Entd.

(79)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS

Separate and Secret.

Whitehall April 9th 1772.

Lieut. Govr. Cramahé

Sir,

The inclosed Paper, which is stated to be the Copy of a letter from Monsr Rouville and others of His Majesty's new Subjects in Canada to the Marquis D'Ossum the French Ambassador at Madrid, has been communicated to me by a foreign Officer who is lately arrived here from Spain, and who says that he obtained it from Monsr D'Ossum's Secretary, and tho' the veracity of this Gentleman is much to be doubted & the thing itself, abstracted from other ground of Suspicion, would have been too slight to have demanded much attention, yet as I find from Governor Carleton that M. Rouville's general Conduct has been such as to render him suspected of having dangerous views; and as Intelligence thro' different channels seems to indicate a particular attention at present in the Court of France to what passes in Canada, it certainly becomes necessary that We should be very much upon our guard, and attend with great caution and circumspection to the conduct of the new Subjects in general, and to the discovering the nature & Extent of any correspondence they may have with old France, & the Channels thro' which it is carried.

Such an Attention is more particularly necessary with regard to the Rouville Family, as Monsr Rouville's Son, who is an Officer in the french Service is now here and takes his Passage to Canada in the Quebec Captain Brash, to whose care this letter is entrusted with directions to deliver it to you immediately upon his arrival, and tho' I am not able to collect, from my conversation with Monsr Rouville, any thing that confirms the suspicion that my other Intelligence and the character of his Father have induced, yet it certainly is necessary that both his conduct and that of his Father should be watched with the greatest vigilance, and every precaution used that may tend to a discovery of any Measure they may have in view that may endanger the Security of the Colony.

Monsr. Rouville's Son is not the only suspected person that now takes passage for Quebec; another Canadian, tho' of inferior rank, and whose name is Deprocas, has applied to me, thro' Mr. Pownall, for a Pass-port, and the account he gives of himself is so contradictory, and forced from him under so great reserve, as to leave room for Suspicion which is not a little increased by my finding that he was an established Pilot for the River St. Lawrence before the conquest of Canada.

You will therefore, Sir have a particular attention also to the conduct of this person, & indeed to every other Canadian (for I believe there are many more) who may at this time return to Quebec from Europe, and in case the precaution you see, & the steps you take shall lead to the discovery of any Plans or correspondence that shall appear to you to be dangerous to the public Safety, you shall not fail to take such steps as shall appear to you to be proper according to the nature of the case, & to transmit to me, for His Majesty's Information, a very full & particular account of every circumstance relative thereto.

I am &c.

Hillsborough

Endorsed—Drat. to Lieut. Govr. Cramahé

Whitehall April 9th 1772.

Separate and Secret

Entd.

Dup.

(80)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 8, p. 114.

Monseigneur

Morréal, le de May 1771.

Notre Esclavage dure trop longtems pour etre delivré de cette tyrannie, nous, nous, portons toujours dans nôtre coeur les trois fleurs de lis a Notre Roy de france, malgré que nous ayons été vendus pour de l'argent aux Barbares qui nous traitent cruellement tous les jours de plus en plus, nous souhaiterions de pouvoir parvenir a un jour plus heureux et d'être entre les mains de Notre Roy tres Chretien et Souverain;

Monseigneur, Nous conferons tous les jours entre nous, et même nous nous Sommes Engagés de tous cotés avec les Sauvages qui nous assisterons dans le Besoin avec armes, ainsi Monseigneur comme vous nous avés promis de nous delivrer un jour ainsi nous vous prions de presenter cette lettre au Nouveau Ministre que est a la place de Monsieur de Choizeul nous rendre meilleure justice que n'a pas fait ledt Sieur de Choizeul et qui nous procurera une occasion favorable pour nous delivrer de cette tyrannie comme nous Soussignons de notre propre main.

(81)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 8, pp. 160-164.

(Secret.)

Quebec 25th July 1772.

My Lord!

I am Honoured with Your Lordship's separate and secret Dispatch of 9th April by Captain Brash of the Quebec, as well as your private one of the same date by Mr. Rouville, upon whose conduct, ever since his Arrival here, as well as his Father's, I have, as far as was in my power, kept the most strict attention.

From any Thing that has yet come to my knowledge, I do not see any Reason for attributing the young man's voyage to any thing else than a Desire of seeing his Family after a twelve years absence, the Hopes he might entertain of procuring from his Father some pecuniary Assistance, and that liking for his native Country, for which the Canadians are peculiarly remarkable.

The Father does not want Sense, is better informed than most of his Countrymen, and has an exceeding good opinion of his own Abilities; Whatever his Inclinations may be, He is too cautious and prudent, I think, to sign his name to the Paper of which Your Lordship was pleased to inclose me a Copy, and which both in Matter and Stile seems to me an extraordinary Performance.

Far from complaining of Slavery, the Canadian Noblesse often alledge, that from the Freedom enjoyed under their present Government, the middling and lower sort of People daily lose of that Deference and Respect they used formerly, upon all occasions to shew their Superiors; The Circumstances of addressing this Paper to the French Ambassador at Madrid is with me a strong Reason for doubting of it's Authenticity; since the Peace there has been no Possibility of preventing the Canadians having a constant Intercourse with France, every year some of them have gone over for the Settlement of their private Affairs, which from their long Connection together, could not be suddenly wound up, and while their Countryman, the Abbé La Corne, resides at Paris, they would not want a faithful and diligent Agent in any Business, they might have to transact with the Court of France.

The Confusion and Perplexity of the Laws, the dilatory Proceedings of our Courts of Justice, the Expence attending them, and the disagreeable necessity, they lye under, of the matters most interesting to them being there discussed in a Language they do not understand, are the chief Subjects upon which they have hitherto complained; they readily and indeed gratefully acknowledge the Indulgence shewn to them in Regard to Religion, and hope the same will be continued, altho' they have at Times been likewise alarmed upon this Head, by the indisceet Talk of some Individuals amongst us.

It is not indeed improbable, that the French Clergy, jealous of their Canadian Brethren, for whom they have always had a thorough Contempt, and whom they now see likely to become in Time possessed of every Benefice in their Church, and the Noblesse, while they have no Prospect of employing their children in His Majesty's Service, and of procuring them Bread in that way, would be desirous, and, if a proper support was at Hand, give all possible assistance to bring about a change; And there is too much Reason to apprehend, that the Habitans, notwithstanding the Superior Advantages they enjoy under the present Government, of which they are not insensible, and often mention, would from their Ignorance, through the Influence of the other two orders of men, be prevailed upon to throw their weight into that Scale; it was remarked by some of the old Subjects, that while the French Schooner lay here, they begun to converse among themselves of old Times, but as they are an inquisitive gossiping People, it was not very wonderfull this, to them at present, new and extraordinary appearance, should produce that Effect.

The Canadian Clergy are strongly interested to prevent any change, they begin to see it, and it appears more than ever necessary, as much as possible, to encourage

this Disposition; it was in this view, that the Bishop having lately obtained the requisite Powers for consecrating the Coadjutor, whom Governor Carleton had pitched upon, I agreed to his performing that Ceremony, but in a private way, because it was not the Act of Government, and to avoid giving a Handle to busy and troublesome People; It is to be hoped that this Event, as well as young Mr. Lanaudiere's Preference, will be attended with very salutary Effects for the King's Interests in this Province.

Besides the Canadian Passengers who went over last Fall, and returned this Spring; there are arrived from France this year a Surgeon, who formerly served in the French Army and married a Canadian, come over, I believe, in Hopes of getting Practice in his Profession, two Acadians who studied for the Priesthood in the College of St. Malo's, and afterwards at Paris, having the Earl of Hartcourt's Pass, and a Canadian Recollet, with Colonel Blaquiere's; the three first came by the way of Great Britain, the other by Miquelon, and immediately upon their arrival, the Oath of Fidelity was administered to them; The man Your Lordship mentions under the name of Deprocas, has not yet made his appearance.

Altho' I can scarcely credit that any of His Majesty's new Subjects have entered into, or formed any Plan destructive to the King's Interests, and am pretty certain, if any such Thing is in Agitation, that it must come from the other side of the water, and few here intrusted with the Secret, His Majesty may be assured, I shall keep an exact watch upon their Words and Actions, endeavour to find out their Correspondence and if I discover any thing to be plotting or acting against His Royal Interests, that I shall consult and Concert, with the Commanders of His Forces upon the Spot, and His other Servants, the best and most effectual measures for the preservation and Security of this important Province.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, My Lord

Your Lordships Most obedient and Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé.

Earl of Hillsborough

One of His Majesty's

Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 25th July 1772.

Lieut. Govr. Cramahé

(Secret)

R. 27th August

E. 15

Entd.

(82)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

(Secret.)

Quebec 10th October 1772.

My Lord!

As the following Occurrence carries with it an Appearance of what Your Lordship mentioned in your secret and separate Dispatch of 9th April last, relative to the attention of the Court of France to the Affairs of this Country, I think it my Duty to inform Your Lordship, that a Mr. Dufy of Montreal (before the conquest, a Captain of the Militia of that Place, in which he served with credit and Reputation) lately received, from Monsieur Mehegan, a Brigadier in the French Service, a Letter, acquainting him, that in consequence of the Duke de Choiseuil's Promise to him, of some Years standing, Monsieur De Boines, the Minister of the Marine, had obtained of the King his Nomination to the Order of St. Louis, that as he resided in a foreign Dominion, the Croix could not be sent out to him, but he should be invested with it, whenever he repaired to France, the Minister's Official Letter upon the occasion having been carefully registered for that Purpose in the Bureau des Colonies.

Monsieur Dufy made no scruple to shew me the Letter, which he tells me he has answered in general Terms of Thanks, without signifying his Acceptance or Refusal of the Order; He very freely acknowledged, it flattered his Vanity, but that at his Time of Life, being upwards of sixty, he had no thoughts of going to France for the Pleasure of wearing the Order.

Altho' in strictness, as a British Subject, He is rather liable to censure, for answering in the Manner he alledges, yet as he is an honest Man, that he is rather too old to change his Ideas of Things, or to shake off the Prejudices of his Youth, I

judged it most advisable to treat the Matter with Indifference, the taking Notice of it in any other Manner might have created Disgust, and added Consequence to the Measure, if the Court of France has really acted therein from political considerations only; for it is here by many suspected M. Dufy's Relations in France, Knowing him to be in affluent Circumstances, have pushed it, to entice him over, in the Hopes of inheriting more largely, in case of his Death.

It was once an Idea of the French Government, a very few years before the conquest, to distribute Croix to the Captains of Militia, and it is to be observed, that those of the Country Parishes, tho' meer Habitans or Peasants, rolled in Duty with those of the Towns, chosen out of the Bourgeoisie, according to Seniority of Commission; this Measure at the Time was strongly opposed by the Noblesse, and Officers of the Regular Troops, it is not impossible but it may have been again resumed, in the view of alluring this order of People, who certainly have profited most by the change of Dominion; all these little Arts would not avail them much, if the Confusion at present subsisting in Regard to the Laws was thoroughly cleared up, a Point the Canadians earnestly wish for, if the Government of the Province was established upon a firm and solib basis and some means could be devised of employing the Noblesse, who at present are at a Loss how to dispose of, or provide for, their Children.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, My Lord!

Your Lordship's Most obedient and Most Humble Servant

H. T. Cramahé

Earl of Hillsborough

One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State.

Endorsed—Quebec 10th October 1772.

Lieut. Governor Cramahé

(Secret)

R. 24 November.

E. 22

Entd.

(83)

**LETTRE ADRESSEE AUX HABITANS DE LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC,
Ci-Devant LE CANADA, De la part du CONGRES GENERAL de
l'Amerique Septentrionale, tenu a Philadelphia.**

Imprimé & publié par Ordre du Congrès.

A PHILADELPHIE,

De l'imprimerie de FLEURY MESPLET.

M. DCC. LXXIV.

**AUX HABITANS
DE LA PROVINCE
DE
QUEBEC.**

Nos Amis & Concitoyens,

Nous, les Délégués des Colonies du nouveau Hampshire, de Massachusetts-Bay, de Rhode-Island & des Plantations de Providence, de Connecticut, de la Nouvelle-York, du Nouveau-Jersey, de la Pennsylvanie, des Comtés de New-Castle, Kent, & Sussex sur le fleuve de la Ware, du Maryland, de la Virginie & des Carolines septentrionale & meridionale, ayant été députés par les Habitans desdites Colonies pour les représenter dans un Congrès général à Philadelphie, dans la province de Pennsylvanie, & pour consulter ensemble sur les meilleurs moyens de nous procurer la délivrance de nos oppressions accablantes; nous étant en consequence assemblés & ayant considéré très-sérieusement l'état des affaires publiques de ce continent, nous avons jugé à propos de nous adresser à votre Province comme à une de ses parties qui y est des plus intéressée.

LORSQU' après une résistance courageuse & glorieuse le sort des armes vous eut incorporé au nombre des sujets Anglais, nous nous rejoûmes autant pour vous que pour nous d'un accroissement si véritablement précieux; & comme la bravoure & la

grandeur d'ame sont joint naturellement, nous nous attendions que nos courageux ennemis deviendraient nos amis sinceres, & que l'Etre supreme répandrait sur vous les dons de sa providence divine en assurant pour vous & pour votre postérité la plus reculée les avantages sans prix de la libre institution du Gouvernement Anglais, qui est le privilege dont tous les sujets Anglais doivent jouir.

CES espérances furent confirmées par la declaration du Roi donnée en 1763, engageant la foi publique pour votre jouissance complete de ces avantages.

A peine aurions-nous pu alors nous imaginer que quelques Ministres futurs abuseraient avec tant d'audace & de méchanceté de l'autorité royale, que de vous priver de la jouissance de ces droits irrévocables auxquels vous aviez un si juste titre.

MAIS puisque nous avons vécu pour voir le tems imprévu, quand ces Ministres d'une disposition corrompue ont osé violer les pactes & les engagements les plus sacrés, & comme vous aviez été élevés sous une autre forme de gouvernement, on a soigneusement évité que vous fissiez la découverte de sa valeur inexprimable de cette forme à laquelle vous avez à present un droit si legitime; nous croyons qu'il est de notre devoir de vous expliquer quelques unes de ses parties le plus intéressantes, pour les raisons pressantes mentionnées ci-après.

"DANS toute société humaine," dit le celebre Marquis de Beccaria, "Il y a une force qui tend continuellement à conférer à une partie du pouvoir & du bonheur, & à réduire l'autre au dernier degré de foiblesse & de misere. L'intention des bonnes loix est de s'opposer à cette force, & de repandre leur influence également & universellement."

DES Chefs incités par cette force pernicieuse, & des sujets animés par le juste desir de lui opposer de bonnes loix, ont occasioné cette immense diversité d'évenemens dont les histoires de tant de nations sont remplies. Toutes ces histoires démontrent la vérité de cette simple position, que d'exister au gré d'un seul homme, ou de quelques uns, est une source de misere pour tous.

Ce fut sur ce principe comme sur un fondement solide que les Anglais éléverent si fermement l'édifice de leur Gouvernement qu'il a résisté au tems, à la tyrannie, à la trahison, & aux guerres intestines & étrangères, pendant plusieurs siècles. Et comme un Auteur illustre & une de vos compatriotes ‡ cite ci-après, observe. "Ils donnerent au peuple de leurs Colonies la forme de leur Gouvernement propre; & ce Gouvernement portant avec lui la prosperité, on a vu se former de grands peuples dans les forêts même qu'ils furent envoyés habiter."

DANS cette forme le premier & le principal droit, est le peuple a part dans son gouvernement par ses representans choisis par lui-même, & est par consequent gouverné par des loix de son approbation, & non par les Edits de ceux sur lesquels il n'a aucun pouvoir. Ceci est un rempart qui entoure & défend sa propriété qu'il s'est acquise par son travail & une honnête industrie; ensorte qu'il ne peut être privé de la moindre partie que de son libre & plein consentement, lorsque suivant son jugement il croit qu'il est juste & nécessaire de la donner pour des usages publics, & alors il indique precisement le moyen le plus facile, le plus economique & le plus égal de percevoir cette partie de sa propriété.

L'INFLUENCE de cet droit s'étend encore plus loin, Si des Chefs qui ont opprimé le peuple ont besoin de subsides, le peuple, peut les refuser jusqu'à ce que leurs griefs soient réparés, & procurer paisiblement, de cette manière, du soulagement sans avoir recours à présenter des requêtes souvent méprisées, & sans troubler la tranquillité publique.

LE second droit essentiel consiste, à être jugé par une Jurée. On pourroit par là qu'un Citoyen ne peut perdre la vie, la liberté ou les biens, qu'au préalable Sentence n'ait été rendue contre lui par douze de ses égaux & compatriotes de moeurs irréprochables, sous serment, pris dans son voisinage, qui par cela même on doit raisonnablement, supposer devoir être informé de son caractère & de celui des témoins, & cela après des enquêtes suffisantes face à face, à huis ouverts, dans la Cour de justice, devant tous ceux qui voudront se trouver présent, & après un jugement équitable. De plus cette Sentence ne peut lui être préjudiciable, sans injurier en même tems la réputation & même les intérêts des Jurés qui l'ont prononcée.

CAR le cas en question peut être sur de certain points qui ont rapport au bien public; mais s'il en était autrement, leur Sentence devient un exemple qui peut servir contre eux-meme s'ils venait à avoir un semblable procès.

UN autre droit se rapporte simplement à la liberté personnelle. Si un Citoyen est saisi & mis en prison, quoique par ordre du Gouvernement, il peut néanmoins en

vertu de ce droit, obtenir immédiatement d'un Juge un ordre que l'on nomme Habeas-Corpus, qu'il est obligé sous serment d'accorder, & se procurer promptement, par ce moyen, une enquête & réparation d'une détention illégitime.

‡ Le Baron de Montesquieu, dans l'Esprit des Loix, Liv. 19, Chap. 27.

UN quatrième droit consiste dans la possession des terres en vertu de legeres rentes foncieres, & non par des corvées rigoureuses & opprimantes qui forcent souvent le possesseur à quitter sa famille & ses occupations pour faire ce qui dans tout état bien réglé devroit être l'ouvrage de gens loués exprès pour cet effet.

LE dernier droit, dont nous serons mention, regarde la liberté de la presse. Son importance outre les progrès de la vérité, de la morale & des arts en général, consiste encore à repandre des sentimens généreux sur l'administration du Gouvernement à servir aux Citoyens à se communiquer promptement & Reciproquement leurs idées, & conséquemment contribue à l'avancement d'une union entre' eux, par laquelle des supérieurs tyranniques sont induit, par des motifs de honte ou de crainte, à se comporter plus honorablement & par des voies plus équitables dans l'administration des affaires.

CE sont là ces droits inestimables que forment une partie considérable du système modéré de notre Gouvernement, laquelle en repandant sa force équitable sur tous les différens rangs & classes de Citoyens, défend le pauvre du riche, le foible du puissant, l'industriel de l'avid, le paisible du violent, les vassaux des Seigneurs, & tous de leurs superieurs.

Ce sont là ces droits sans lesquels une nation ne peut pas être libre & heureuse, & c'est sous la protection & l'encouragement que procure leur influence que ces Colonies ont jusqu'à present flori & augmenté si étonnement. Ce sont ces mêmes droits qu'un ministère abandonné tâche actuellement de nous ravir à main armée, & que nous sommes tous d'un commun accord résolus de ne perdre qu'avec la vie. Tels sont enfin ces droits qui vous appartiennent, & que vous devriez dans ce moment exercer dans toute leur étendue.

MAIS que vous offre-t-on à leur place par le dernier Acte du Parlement? La liberté de conscience pour votre religion: non, Dieu vous l'avoir donnée, & les Puissances temporelles avec lesquelles vous étiez & êtes à présent en liaison, ont fortement stipulé que vous en eussiez la pleine jouissance: si les loix divines & humaines pouvaient garantir cette liberté des caprices despotiques des méchans, elle l'était déjà auparavant. A-t-on retabli les loix Francaises dans les affaires civiles? Cela parait ainsi, mais faites attention à la faveur circonspecte des Ministres qui prétendent devenir vos bienfaiteurs; les paroles du Statut sont: "que l'on se réglera sur ces loix jusqu'à ce qu'elles aient été modifiées ou changées par quelques ordonnances du Gouverneur & du Conseil."

Est-ce que l'on vous assure pour vous & votre postérité, la certitude & la douceur de la loi criminelle d'Angleterre avec toutes ses utilités & avantages, laquelle on loue dans ledit Statut, & que l'on reconnaît que vous avez éprouvé très-sensiblement? Non, ces loix sont aussi sujettes aux "*changemens*" arbitraires du Gouverneur & Conseil, & on se reserve en outre tres-expressement le pouvoir d'ériger "telles Cours de judicature *criminelle, civile & ecclésiastique* que l'on jugera nécessaires."

C'EST de CES conditions si précaires que votre vie & votre religion dépendent seulement de la volonté d'un seul. La Couronne & les Ministres ont le pouvoir autant qu'il a été possible au Parlement de le concéder, d'introduire le tribunal de l'Inquisition même au milieu de vous.

AVEZ-VOUS une assemblée composée d'honnêtes gens de votre propre choix sur lesquels vous puissiez vous reposer pour former vos loix, veiller à votre bien-être, & ordonner de quelle manière & en quelle proportion vous devez contribuer de vos biens pour les usages publics? non, c'est du Gouverneur & du Conseil que doivent émaner vos loix, & ils ne font eux-mêmes que les créatures du Ministre, qu'il peut déplacer selon son bon plaisir. En outre, un autre nouveau Statut formé sans votre participation vous a assujettis à toute la rigueur d'un impôt sur les denrées que l'on nomme *Excise*, impôt detesté dans tous les états libres. En vous arrachant ainsi vos biens par la plus odieuse de toutes les taxes, vous êtes encore exposés à voir votre repos & celui de vos familles troublé par des collecteurs insolens, pénétrant à chaque instant jusque dans l'intérieur de vos maisons, qui sont nommées les Forteresses des Citoyens Anglais dans les livres qui traitent de leurs loix.

DANS ce meme statut qui changé votre Gouvernement, & qui parait calculé pour vous flatter, vous n'êtes point autorisés "à vous cotiser pour lever & disposer

d'aucun impôt ou taxe, à moins que ce ne soit dans des cas de peu de conséquence, tels que de faire des *grands chemins*, de bâtir ou de réparer des *Edifices publics* ou pour quelqu' autres convenances *locales* dans l'enceinte de vos villes & districts." Pourquoi cette distinction humiliante? Est-ce que les biens que les Canadiens se sont acquis par une honnête industrie ne doivent pas être aussi sacrés que ceux des Anglais? L'entendement des Canadiens seroit il si borné qu'ils tussent hors d'état de participer à d'autres affaires publiques qu'à celle de rassembler des pierres dans un endroit pour les entasser dans un autre? Peuple infortuné qui est non-seulement lezé, mais encore outragé. Ce qu'il y a de plus fort, c'est que suivant les avis que nous avons recus, un ministère arrogant a conçu une idée si méprisante de votre jugement & de vos sentimens, qu'il a osé penser, & s'est même persuadé que par un retour de gratitude pour les injures & outrages qu'il vous a récemment offert, il vous engagerait, vous nos dignes Concitoyens, à prendre les armes pour devenir des instrumens en ses mains, pour l'aider à nous ravir cette liberté dont sa perfidie vous a privée, ce qui vous rendrait ridicules & détestables à tout l'Univers.

LE résultat inévitable d'une telle entreprise, suppose que qu'elle réussit, seroit l'anéantissement total des espérances que vous pourriez avoir, que vous ou votre posterité fussent jamais rétablis dans votre liberté: car à moins que d'être entièrement privé du sens commun, il n'est pas possible de s'imaginer qu'après que vous auriez été employés dans un service si honteux ils vous traitassent avec moins de rigueur que nous qui tenons à eux par les liens du sang.

QU'AURAIT du votre compatriote l'immortel *Montesquieu*, au sujet du plan de Gouvernement que l'on vient de former pour vous? Ecoutez ses paroles avec cette attention recueillie que requiert l'importance du sujet. "Dans un état libre, ‡ tout homme qui est sensé avoir une ame libre, doit être gouverné par lui-même, il faudrait que le peuple en corps eut la puissance législative; mais comme cela est impossible dans les grands états, & est sujet à beaucoup d'inconveniens dans les petits, il faut que le peuple fasse, par ses représentans, tout ce qu'il ne peut faire par lui-même."—"La liberté politique dans un Citoyen est cette tranquillité d'esprit qui provient de l'opinion que chacun a de sa sûreté; & pour qu'on ait cette liberté, il faut que le Gouvernement soit tel qu'un Citoyen ne puisse pas craindre un autre Citoyen. Lorsque dans la même personne ou dans le même corps de Magistrature, la puissance législative est réunie à la puissance exécutive, il n'y a point de liberté; parce qu'on peut craindre que le même Monarque ou le même Senat ne fassent des loix tyranniques pour les exécuter tyranniquement."

LA puissance de juger ne doit pas être donner à un Senat permanent, mais exercées par des personnes tirées du corps du peuple dans certain tems de l'année, de la manière préférée par la loi, pour former un tribunal qui ne dure qu'autant que la nécessité le requiert.

LES Militaires sont d'une profession qui peut-être utile, mais devient souvent dangereuse. "La jouissance de la liberté consiste en ce qu'il soit permis à chacun de déclarer sa pensée & de découvrir ses sentimens."

APPLIQUEZ à votre situation présente ces maximes décisives qui ont la fonction de l'autorité d'un nom que toute l'Europe révere. On pourrait avancer que vous avez un Gouverneur revêtu de la puissance *exécutive* ou des pouvoirs de l'*administration*; c'est en lui & en son Conseil qu'est placé la puissance *législative*: vous avez des Juges qui doivent décider dans tous les cas ou votre vie, votre liberté ou vos biens sont en danger, & effectivement, il semble qu'il se trouve ici une *distribution & répartition* de diverses puissances en des mains *différentes* qui se reprennent l'une l'autre, ce qui est l'unique méthode que l'esprit humain ait jamais imaginée pour contribuer à l'accroissement de la liberté & de la prospérité des hommes.

MAIS vous servant de cette sagacité si naturelle aux Français, dédaignant d'être deses par le faux brillant de cet extérieur, examinez la plausibilité de ce plan, & Vous trouverez (pour me servir des paroles de la Sainte Ecriture) que ce n'est qu'un "*sepulchre blanchi*," pour ensevelir votre liberté & vos biens avec votre vie.

VOS Juges & votre (soit-disant) *Conseil Législatif* dépendent de votre Gouverneur, & lui-même dépend des serviteurs de la Couronne, en Angleterre. Le moindre signe du Ministre fait agir ces puissances *législative, exécutive* & celle de *juger*. Vos privilèges & vos immunités n'existent qu'autant que dure sa faveur, & son courroux fait évanouir leur forme chancelante.

‡ De l'Esprit des Loix Liv. XI., Ch. VI.

LA perfidie a été employée avec tant d'artifice dans le Code de loix que l'on vous a récemment offert, que quoique le commencement de chaque paragraphe paraisse être plein de bienveillance, il se termine cependant d'une manière destructive; & lorsque le tout est dépouillé des expressions flatteuse qui le décorent, il ne contient autre chose, sinon, que la Couronne & les Ministres seront aussi absolus dans toute l'étendue de votre vaste Province, que le font actuellement les despotes de l'Asie & de l'Afrique. Qui protégera vos biens contre des Edits d'impôts & contre les rapines de supérieurs durs & nécessaires? Qui défendra vos personnes de Lettres de Cachets, de Prisons, de Cachots & de Corvées fatigantes, votre liberté & votre vie contre des Chefs arbitraires & insensibles? Vous ne pouvez, en jetant vos yeux de tous côtés, appercevoir une seule circonstance qui puisse vous promettre d'aucune façon, le moindre espoir de liberté pour vous & votre posterité, si vous n'adoptez entièrement le projet d'entrer en union avec nos colonies.

QUEL ferait le conseil que vous donnerait cet homme si véritablement grand, cet Avocat pour la liberté & l'humanité: que nous venons de citer fut-il encore vivant & scût que nous vos voisins puissans & nombreux, inspirés d'un juste amour pour nos droits envahis & unis par les liens indissolubles de l'affection de l'intérêt, vous auraient invités au nom de tout ce que vous devez à vous-même & à vos enfans (comme nous le faisons à présent) de vous unir à nous dans une cause si juste, pour n'en faire qu'une entre nous, & courir la même fortune pour nous délivrer d'une subjection humiliante sous des Gouverneurs, Intendants & tyrans Militaires, & rentrer fermement dans le rang & la condition de libre Citoyens Anglais, qui ont appris de leurs ancêtres à faire trembler ceux qui oisent seulement penser à les rendre malheureux.

NE serait-ce pas par un discours semblable qu'il s'adresserait à vous? Et dirait, "saisissez l'occasion que la Providence elle-même vous offre, votre conquête vous a acquis la liberté si vous vous comportez comme vous devez, cet événement est son ouvrage: vous n'êtes qu'un très-petit nombre en comparaison de ceux qui vous invitent à bras ouverts de vous joindre à eux; un instant de réflexion doit vous convaincre qu'il convient mieux à vos intérêts & à votre bonheur, de vous procurer l'amitié constante des peuples de l'Amerique septentrionale, que de les rendre vos implacables ennemis. Les outrages que souffre la Ville de Boston, ont alarmés & unis ensemble toutes les Colonies depuis la nouvelle Ecosse jusqu'à la Georgie, votre Province est le seul anneau qui manque pour compléter la chaîne forte & éclatante de leur union. Votre pays est naturellement joint au leur, joignez-vous aussi dans vos intérêts politiques; leur propre bien-être permettra jamais qu'ils vous abandonnent ou qu'ils vous trahissent: soyez persuadés que le bonheur d'un peuple dépend absolument de sa liberté & de son courage pour la maintenir. La valeur & l'étendue des avantages que l'on vous offre est immense; daigne le Ciel ne pas permettre que vous ne reconnaissiez ces avantages pour le plus grand des biens que vous pourriez posséder, qu'après qu'ils vous auront abandonnés à jamais.

NOUS connoissons trop bien la noblesse de sentiment qui distingue votre nation, pour supposer que vous fussiez retenus de former des liaisons d'amitié avec nous par les préjugés que la diversité de religion pourrait faire naître. Vous sçavez que la liberté est d'une nature si excellente qu'elle rend, ceux qui s'attachent à elle, supérieurs à toutes ces petites foiblesses. Vous avez une preuve bien convaincante de cette vérité dans l'exemple des Cantons Suisses, lesquels quoique composés d'états Catholiques & Protestants, ne laissent pas cependant de vivre en semble en paix & en bonne intelligence, ce qui les a mis en état depuis qu'ils se sont vaillamment acquis leur liberté, de braver & de repousser tous les tyrans qui ont osé les envahir.

S'IL se trouvait quelques uns parmi vous (comme cela est assez fréquent dans tous les états) qui préféreraient la faveur du Ministre & leur intérêts particuliers au bien-être de leur patrie, leurs inclinations intéressées les porteraient à s'opposer fortement à toutes les mesures tendantes au bien public, dans l'esperance que leurs supérieurs les récompenseront amplement pour leurs services honteux & indignes: mais nous ne doutons pas que vous ne ferez en garde contre de telles gens, & nous espérons que vous ne ferez point un sacrifice de la liberté & du bonheur de tous les Canadiens, pour gratifier l'avarice & l'ambition de quelques particuliers.

Nous ne requérons pas de vous dans cette adresse d'en venir à des voies de fait contre le Gouvernement de notre Souverain, nous vous engageons seulement à consulter votre gloire & votre bien-être, & à ne pas souffrir que des Ministres infames vous persuadent & vous intimident jusqu'au point de devenir les instrumens de leur cruauté & de leur despotisme. Nous vous engageons aussi à vous unir à

nous par un pacte social, fonde sur le principe liberal d'une liberté égale, & entretenu par une suite de bons offices réciproques, qui puissent le rendre perpétuel. A dessein d'effectuer une union si desirable, nous vous prions de considérer s'il ne ferait convenable que vous vous assembliez chacun dans vos villes & districts respectifs, pour élire des députés de chaque endroit qui formeraient un Congrès Provincial, duquel vous pourriez choisir des Délégués pour être envoyés, comme les représentans de votre Province, au Congrès général de ce continent qui doit ouvrir ses séances à Philadelphie, le 10 de Mai, 1775.

Dans le present Congrès qui a commence le 5 du mois passé, & a continué jusqu'à ce jour, il a été resolu unanimement & avec une satisfaction universelle, que nous regarderions la violation de vos droits, opérée par l'acte pour changer le Gouvernement de votre Province, comme une violation de nôtres propres, & que nous vous inviterions à entrer dans notre confédération, laquelle n'a d'autres objets en vue que la parfaite assurance des droits civils & naturels de tous les membres qui la composent, & la preservation d'une liaison heureuse & permanente avec la Grande Bretagne, fondée sur les principes fondamentaux & salutaires que nous avons expliqués ci-devant. C'est pour parvenir à ces fins que nous avons fait présenter au Roi, une Requête humble & loyale, le suppliant de vouloir bien nous délivrer de nos oppressions. Nous avons aussi formé un accord, par lequel nous suspendons l'importation de toutes sortes de marchandises de la Grande Bretagne & de l'Irlande, après le premier de Decembre prochain. Comme aussi nous nous engageons à ne rien transporter de chez nous dans ces Royaumes ou aux Isles de l'Amerique, apres le dixieme de Septembre prochain, si nous n'avons pas encore obtenu, dans ce tems là, la réparation de nos griefs.

QUE de Tout-Puissant daigne vous porter d'inclination à approuver nos démarches justes & nécessaires, & à vous joindre à nous, & que lorsque l'on vous offrira quelques injurés que vous serez résolus de ne point souffrir, à ne pas faire dépendre votre sort du peu d'influence que pourrait avoir votre seule Province, mais des puissances reunies de l'Amerique septentrionale; & qu'il veuille accorder à nos travaux unis, un succes aussi heureux que notre cause est juste, est la fervente priere de nous, vos sincerés & affectionnés Amis & Concitoyens.

PAR ORDRE DU CONGRES,

26 Octobre, 1774.

HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

(84)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 10, p. 120.

(No.1.)

Quebec 23d Sept. 1774.

Duplicate

My Lord!

I take the first opportunity that offers of acquainting your Lordship with my arrival here the 18th instant, where I have had the satisfaction of finding His Majesty's Canadian Subjects impressed with the strongest sense of The King's great goodness towards them in the late Act of Regulation for the Government of this Province; All Ranks of People amongst them vied with each other in testifying their Gratitude and Respect, and the Desire they have by every Mark of Duty and Submission to prove themselves not undeserving of the Treatment they have met with.

In less than four and twenty Hours after my arrival, I received a Letter from General Gage by Express, signifying the necessity He was under, from the apparent Disposition of the People in the Province under his immediate Government, to collect all the Force he could bring together, and desiring the 10th and 52d Regiments might be sent from hence, if they could be spared, without endangering the Peace

and good order of this Province; Copies of the Essential Parts of the General's Letter, and of my answer, are herewith inclosed, which will more fully explain the matter to your Lordship.

I am with much Esteem and Respect,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 23d Sept 1774

Governor Carleton

(No. 1)

(Dup —Origl. not reed.)

R. 11 Novembr.

Two Inclosures

(85)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 10, p. 122.

Extract of a Letter from General Gage to General Carleton dated Boston
Sept. 4th 1774.

"The present Situation of affairs in this Province obliges me to collect all the Force in my Power; I have therefore sent Transports for the 10th and 52d Regiments to bring them to this Place, at the same Time I submit to you, whether you think any Thing is to be dreaded from the absence of these Corps internally in the Province of Quebec during the Winter; for as these Regiments will come down the River so late in the year, and may be replaced early in the Spring. I imagine no Danger can be apprehended from without. If therefore you think the Fusileers at Quebec, and the Part of the 26th at Montreal, with small Detachments from them at Trois Rivieres and Chamblis, can preserve Peace and good order in the Province, I am to beg you will order the 10th and 52d Regiments to embark without Delay on board the Transports for you will think with me they will have not Time to spare in coming down the River St. Lawrence.

"As I must look forward to the worst, from the apparent Disposition of the People here, I am to ask your Opinion, whether a Body of Canadians and Indians might be collected, and confided in, for the Service in this Country, should matters come to Extremities; and on what Plan, and what Measures would be most efficacious to raise them, and for them to form a Junction with the King's Forces in this Province."

G.C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from General Gage to General Carleton dated Boston
Sept. 4th 1774.

In Governor Carleton's of the 23d Sept. No. 1.

Extract of General Carleton's answer to Genl. Gage dated Quebec 20th Sept. 1774.

"Your Express reached this Place yesterday Evening, about twenty Hours after my arrival; Pilots are sent down the River, the 10th and 52nd shall be ready to embark at a moment's Notice, and you directed."

"The Canadians have testified to me the strongest marks of joy, and Gratitude, and Fidelity to the King, and to His Government, for the late arrangements made at Home in their Favor; a Canadian Regiment would compleat their Happiness which in Time of Need might be augmented to two, three, or more Battalions, tho' for the Satisfaction of the Province, and till the Kings Service might require more, one would be sufficient, and I am convinced their Fidelity and zeal might be depended on; should this measure be at length adopted (which I have long since Recommended) 'tis essentially necessary their appointments should be the same as the rest of the Infantry, with half pay, in case they should be reduced; the Savages of this Province, I hear, are in very good Humor, a Canadian Battalion would be a great motive, and go far to influence them but you know what sort of People they are,"

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of General Carleton's answer to General Gage dated Quebec
20th Sept. 1774.

In Governor Carleton's of the 23d Sept. No. 1.

(86)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 10, p. 125.

(No. 14)

Whitehall 10th Decr. 1774.

Governor Carleton
Sir

I have received your Dispatch of the 23d of Sept'r acquainting me with your arrival at Quebec and that you found His Majesty's Canadian Subjects impressed with a just sense of His Majesty's Goodness to them, and highly satisfied and pleased with the Regulations adopted for the future Government of the Colony.

As you are silent as to the sentiments of His Majesty's natural born Subjects in Canada respecting the late Act, I am not at liberty to conclude that they entertain the same opinion of it, but the King trusts that when the Provisions of it have taken place and His Majesty's gracious Intentions with respect to the Plan of Judicature that is to be established are well known, prejudice which popular clamour has excited, will cease, and that His Majesty's Subjects of every description will see and be convinced of the Equity and good Policy of the Bill.

It will be your care, Sir, at the same time you express to the King's new adopted subjects His Majesty's gracious approbation of the affection and Respect they have shewn for His Government, to endeavour by every Argument which your own good sense will suggest to you, to persuade the natural born subjects of the justice & propriety of the present form of Government and of the attention that has been shewn to their Interests not only in the adoption of the English Laws, as far as it was consistent with what was due to the just claims and moderate wishes of the Canadians but in the opening to the British Merchant, by an Extension of the Province, so many new channels of important commerce.

You will have seen, by the public prints, that Mr. Hey has been elected for Sandwich in the new Parliament and will naturally conclude that he has no Intention of returning to Quebec; but I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that is not the case, and that he is resolved to return to Quebec in the Character of Chief Justice although he should be under the necessity of relinquishing his Seat in Parliament which however we hope and think may be avoided, and I mention this with the greater Pleasure, knowing how great a satisfaction it must be to you to have his advice and opinion upon the many important Objects that remain to be provided for.

It is very much to be wished that the season of the year would admit of his being the Bearer of your Commission and Instructions, and of the notifications of His Majesty's pleasure with regard to the Variety of Arrangements which are to be made; but as that cannot be, I propose to send them to you by the next New York Packet under cover to Lieut. Govr. Colden, with Directions to him to see them conveyed to you from New York by a proper Messenger and with all possible Dispatch.

I am &c.

Dartmouth.

Endorsed:—Drat. to Govr. Carleton
10th December 1774
(No. 14)

Entd.

(87)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 290.

(Secret) (Copy)

Quebec 4th Feby 1775.

Sir

As this goes by Lt. Cleveland of the 7th, I will venture to be more explicit about what you mention of the Canadians and Indians in your Letter of 25th Decr last, than I thought it prudent to do by Post, as one may naturally suppose, those, who seem resolved to force their Country into Rebellion, Jealous of the correspondence

may intercept our Letters, to make themselves masters of the correspondence, and should those Disorders continue, as there is too much Reason to apprehend, I submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be proper to send me a Cypher, for the greater Security of our Correspondence on matters of a secret nature.

The Canadians in general have been made very happy by the Act passed in their Favor, all that have spoke, or wrote to me upon the subject, express the most grateful sense of what has been done for them; I must not however conceal from your Excellency, that the Gentry, well disposed, and heartily desirous as they are, to serve the Crown, and to serve it with zeal, when formed into regular corps, do not relish commanding a bare Militia, they never were used to that Service under the French Government, (and perhaps for good Reasons) besides the sudden Dismission of the Canadian Regiment raised in 1764, without gratuity or Recompence to Officers, who engaged in our Service almost immediately after the cession of the Country, or taking any notice of them since, tho' they all expected half pay, is still uppermost in their Thoughts, and not likely to encourage their engaging a second Time in the same way; As to the Habitans or Peasantry, ever since the Civil Authority has been introduced into the Province, the Government of it has hung so loose, and retained so little Power, they have in a manner emancipated themselves, and it will require Time, and discreet management likewise, to recall them to their ancient Habits of obedience and Discipline; considering all the new Ideas they have been acquiring for these ten years past, can it be thought they will be pleased at being suddenly, and without Preparation embodied into a Militia, and marched from their Families, Lands, and Habitations to remote Provinces, and all the Horrors of war, which they have already experienced. It would give an appearance of Truth to the Language of our Sons of Sedition, at this very moment busily employed instilling into their minds, that the Act was passed merely to serve the present Purposes of Government, and in the full Intention of ruling over them with all the Despotism of their ancient Masters —

It may be further observed, that the Act is more than the foundation of future Establishments; that the new Commissions and Instructions, expected out, are not yet arrived, and that the Dissolution of the present Constitution, if it deserves the name, and Establishment of the new one, are still at some Distance; at that Period, upon the first of May every civil Regulation, at present existing, is annihilated, and the whole to be cast into a new Form, a work that must necessarily be attended with some Difficulty, and will require Time, consideration, and great Prudence, for which it is not in our Power to prepare, untill the final Determination of the Ministry upon all these matters is known; had the present Settlement taken Place, when first recommended, it would not have roused the Jealousy of the other Colonies, and had the appearance of more disinterested Favor to the Canadians; many advantages might have resulted therefrom at this Juncture, which must now be deferred to a more distant occasion.

"Since it could not be done before, this would prove a fair opportunity for raising a Battalion or two of Canadians; such a measure might be of singular use, in finding Employment for, and consequently firmly attaching, the Gentry, to our Interests in restoring them to a significance, they have nearly lost, and through their means obtaining a further Influence upon the Lower class of People, a material service to the State, besides that of effectually securing many nations of Savages."

As to the Indians, Government having thought it expedient to let matters go in that channel, I have ever considered the late Sir Wm. Johnson, to whom, I suppose, Colonel Guy Johnson succeeds, as having their Political concerns under his immediate Direction, with which I never interfered further, than their commercial Interests, or the private Property, they possess in the Country, required, and upon this Principle Major Campbell's Commission was granted; however, if I am not greatly deceived in my Intelligence, not only the Domiciliés of the Province, but all the neighbouring Indians are very much at your Disposal, whenever you are pleased to call upon them, and what you recommend shall be complied with—

Left to my own speculations in this retired corner, without Intelligence of what passes in Europe till very long after the Event, and from a knowledge of the present Continental Transactions only, I entertain no Doubt, our Army is by this Time augmenting, and that as soon as the navigation opens, some Troops from Britain will be sent up this River, and in my opinion, it should not be an inconsiderable force; if we are to have a French war, this corps will become indispensably necessary here, if not,

it might effectually second your Intentions, prevent much Effusion of Blood and Treasure, and procure the speedy Decision of a contest, rendered more dangerous by every moment's Delay; the strong easily find Friends, and no Doubt they might readily procure a multitude of excellent guides, who will lead the way on any service you should think right to direct—&c.

(Signed)

Guy Carleton

(a true copy)

H. T. Cramahé.

His Excy General Gage

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Genl. Carleton to Genl. Gage, dated Quebec 4th Febr'y. 1775.

In Lieut. Governor Cramahé's Letter of the 9th Novr.

(88)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 147.

(No. 10)

Quebec 6th April 1775.

My Lord!

The Parcel, dispatch from Your Lordship's Office by the January Packet, containing your Circular Letter of the 4th of said Month, and the one No. 15, with His Majesty's new Commissions and Instructions, in consequence of the Acts for regulating the Province, was safely delivered the 3d instant.

In the 56th Instruction, stating the Salaries and Bounties, His Majesty has graciously been pleased to grant to the civil officers &c. of His Government in this Province, the Article of Contingencies is set down at one thousand Pounds; if on any occasion I am more particularly anxious of clearly understanding the King's Intentions, in Order to have them punctually obeyed, 'tis in money concerns; I therefore trouble Your Lordship with a Request that in your next Letter you will be pleased to explain to me more fully for what this sum is designed.

The inclosed Paper is a copy of some Intelligence sent me from Montreal by yesterday's Post, the last Paragraph is confirmed from several Quarters, with this addition, that these Deputies from the Massachusetts Report, should the Canadians not join them in their measures, this Province will be overrun by fifty thousand Men from New England, and laid waste with Fire and sword; this Paper exhibits a Specimen of the Intrigues and Cabals carried on all the last Winter, and which are still likely to continue.

I am with much Respect and Esteem

Your Lordship's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's

Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Quebec 6th April 1775.

Governor Carleton

(No. 10)

R. 12th June

(1 Inclosure)

Entd.

Concerning the Expence requisite to carry into Execution the foregoing Plan for the Administration of Justice in the Province of Quebec.

.....

These sums added together make an increase of expence in the province, incurred since the date Quebec-act, of £5650 sterling *per annum*. And there is another new article of expence, which, I imagine to be considerable from the number of persons who are the objects of it, but of which I do not know the exact amount. I mean a

half-pay, which was given in the beginning of last May, (when the Quebec-act was to have taken place,) to several Canadian, or French, officers; who had gone in the year 1763, or 1764, (at the request of general Murray, who was at that time governor of the province), upon a military expedition into the upper, or Indian, country, to oblige the Indians, (who had either continued the war against the English colonies, or begun a new one, after his Majesty had made peace with the French king,) to lay down their arms and make peace with all his Majesty's subjects. I have been told, that several of the Canadian, or French, inhabitants of the province, engaged in that service with alacrity, and went into the Indian country, to make war upon the Indians, and reduce them to terms of peace by force of arms, if they had stood out any longer, and that the presence of these Canadians amongst the Indians on that occasion, (to many of whom they were known,) contributed very much to strike terror into the latter, and persuade them to make peace with the English: since which time there have been no Indian disturbances. This was certainly a very considerable service to his Majesty, and to the province, for which the persons, who so cheerfully undertook it, deserved both thanks and a reward. I was not at that time in the province; and therefore do not know the exact particulars of this affair. But I have been told that, at the time, little notice was taken of them on account of this expedition, and that they met with no reward. But now of late, those of them who had served as officers on that occasion, have had good amends made them for this long delay of publick gratitude, during eleven or twelve years, by receiving each of them a pension which is to be continued for their lives, equal to the half-pay of the commission, in which he served on that expedition. Perhaps, this may seem going into a contrary extreme to that of the negligent treatment they are said to have met with immediately after their return from that expedition, when the gratitude of government for the service they had just rendered, ought naturally to have been warmest: and some people will be apt to doubt, whether this liberality has been exhibited towards them from the single motive of pure gratitude for their past service, or whether it was partly intended as an encouragement to them and their friends to engage again in the military life, and make war upon their neighbours of New-England; especially if they reflect on the hint given in the letter signed *Le Canadien Patriote*, about raising a Canadian regiment. But if this was the motive to this measure, the disinclination of the lower class of Canadians to engage in so odious a service, has completely spoiled the project. Though I don't know the amount of this half-pay, I presume it cannot be less than £1350 sterling a year, which with the former sums already mentioned, will make the increase of the publick expence of the old province, (as bounded by the King's proclamation in 1763, since the passing of the Quebec-act, amount to £7000 a year. Surely, when the publick money is thus freely dealt about in the province, the expence of £6300 ought not to be thought an obstacle to the establishment of the foregoing plan for the administration of justice in the province, if it be judged to be a very convenient plan for the purpose, and likely to give great satisfaction to the Canadians.

.....

 (Additional papers concerning the Province of Quebec, by Francis Maseres, London, 1776, Pp. 372-5.)

(89)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.
 Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 161.

(No. 11)

Quebec 15th May 1775.

My Lord!

Inclosed Your Lordship will receive a Copy of the Intelligence transmitted to me since my last, of the further Proceedings of some of the turbulent spirits at Montreal, and the attempt of the Massachusetts, to avail themselves of their Disposition, in order to gain or intimidate the Canadians, and even to tamper with the Indians, settled in Villages towards the Upper Part of the St. Lawrence; this Embassy however, I believe, has failed of their aim, and returned with little else than Promises of a few Individuals to render them all services in their Power.

The first of May was marked by a pretty extraordinary Transaction, as your Lordship will be able to judge by a copy of the account transmitted to me, herewith inclosed, which has been attended with some consequences; Rewards having

been offered by Government, the Civil, and Military, at Montreal, for discovering the Perpetrators of the Insult upon the Bust. while these were proclaiming, and a crowd assembled thereupon, some ill Language and Blows passed between a Canadian Gentleman of some note, Monsieur Bellestre, and a young man born and bred in Philadelphia, not long settled at Montreal; the Judges, through Excess of zeal, laid hold of the words that had given offence to the Canadian Gentleman, as you will see by the inclosed copy of the account sent me of the affair, to commit the young man to Gaol, and refused at first to admit him to Bail.

But the Attorney General's opinion having been sent to them by Express, they agreeable thereto set him free; indeed they had, the Day after his Commitment, offered to accept his Bail, which he then refused—

Since the young Man's Release, some of the old subjects at Quebec have presented me a Petition, and those at Montreal a Remonstrance, complaining very grievously of the affair, from all which, I suppose, they intend making as great a Bustle about it, as they can; they have however failed in their attempts with the Canadians, who, tho' much importuned, refused to sign either.

A copy of the Minutes of the old Council from the first of the present year to the 23rd April, which closed it, is likewise herewith transmitted.

I am with much Respect and Esteem

Your Lordship's Most obedient and Most Humble Servant
Guy Carleton.

Earl of Dartmouth

One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State.

P.S.—I have received by the March Packet your Lordship's Circular Dispatches of 25th February and 3rd March with the Papers therein inclosed. G.C.

Endorsed:—Quebec 15th May 1775.

Governor Carleton

(No. 11)

R. 12th July.

Nine Inclosures.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 3d Apl. 1775.

Les sujets entetés de la pretendue Liberté ne cessent de repandre des Libelles de toute Espece et cherchent a intimider les pauvres Canadiens en leur faisant entendre que si ils ne se joignent a eux qu'il viendra cinquante mille Hommes pour detruire les Villes et rendre les Habitans Malheureux. Il est arrivé plusieurs Anglois sous pretexte d'acheter des cheveux qui font courir le Bruit que Monsieur Gage ne peut plus soutenir et sera bientôt contraint de se retirer et bien d'autres Discours semblables, on assure qu'il s'est tenu deux Assemblées l'un a la Ville et l'autre a la Chine dans lesquels etoient quelques uns de ses nouveaux arrivans mais tout est secret pour nous.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal 3rd April 1775.

a.

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

(2)

(Translation)

Extract of a Letter from Montreal, dated 3d April, 1775.

The people obsessed with sham Liberty do not cease to spread Slanders of every Description and try to intimidate the poor Canadians by making them believe that if they do not join them, fifty thousand men will come to destroy their Towns and make the Habitans miserable. Several English have come here under pretext of buying horses who spread the Report that Mr. Gage cannot hold out and will soon be obliged to withdraw and other similar Tales, they assure me that two meetings have been held one in the Town and the other at La Chine at which some of these new comers were present but all is a secret to us.

Endorsed:—

Extract of a Letter from Montreal.

3rd April, 1775.

a.

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 164-6.

Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 3rd Apl. 1775.

There are some People lately come into this Province from New England who I suspect are no better than they should be. One is gone to Quebec, and as I am informed a second is at three Rivers and a third remains here the last gives out that he is come to buy a Pair of Horses, but I am very apprehensive has other schemes in view, as he is very often with the Merchants of this Town, and I am told there are two or three more at La Prairie, and that last saturday, some of the Merchants and they had a meeting at La Chine, but cannot find out their Business, but am apprehensive their meeting was for no good purpose.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 3rd Apl. 1775.

a.
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

(1)

(91)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 149.

Copy of Intelligence from Montreal received the 5th of April 1775.

Le 22me Fevrier 1775 lors que J'entraï ches Monsieur La taille Curé a St. Charles sur la Riviere de Chambli, Je trouvai ce Monsieur lisant une Traduction imprimée de l'Adresse du Congrès aux Canadiens qu'un Anglois que je ne connoissois pas, ni Mr. La Taille, venoit de lui presenter a lire. Ce Curé après l'avoir parcouru très succintement, le lui rendit en lui disant que cela lui paroissoit mauvais, et qu'il n'en avoit nullement Besoin.

Cet Anglois que J'ai sçu depuis peu de jours se nommer Woolsey, nous dit que le But de cet Ecrit etoit de detourner les Habitans de prendre les Armes contre eux, craignant que ce ne soit le Dessein du Gouvernement; et qu'il etoit bien a propos que ces Messieurs eussent une Reponse.

Je lui demandai d'ou il avoit eu cette Brochure, et il me dit que Mr. Burk Greffier, qui en avoit 4 a 5 sur sa table lui avoit donné celle la. Je crois mais sans certitude, que le meme Woolsey, en a distribué de semblables du coté de la Chenaye, il me dit qu'il avoit Desir d'en procurer une au Curé de Terrebonne.

Le Jeudi 9me Mars, Je vis descendre chés Ferries Cantinier sur le Marché de cette Ville un Homme a cheval que je jugeai venir des Colonies, il en etoit en Effet; Il repartit le lendemain a la même Heure, (a 3 heures après midi) emmenant avec lui deux autres chevaux qu'il avoit eu du Sieur Perineau pour un Negre. Ferries m'a dit que cet Homme etoit envoyé par un nommé Thomas qui vient ordinairement acheter des chevaux.

Le même jour 9me Mars Mr. Measam Marchand Anglois, me dit sur le marché que L'Homme dont Je viens de parler, rapportoit que les Bastonnois avoient des Troupes sur Pied, et 30 Pieces de canon; et que d'autres Colonies avoient jusqu'a dix mille Hommes a leur Solde le tout pour s'opposer aux Troupes du Roi et se preserver du Despotisme que le Ministere vouloit etablir dans ce Continent. Comme je badinois sur ce Despotisme, Mr. Walker qui n'étoit pas éloigné, le joignit, et dit a Mr. Measam que J'avois Raison qu'il n'y avoit pas de Despotisme en France: (que ce Dernier avoit cité pour Exemple.) mais que les Peuples des Colonies etoient de braves Gens, qui ne vouloient pas etre Esclaves et qui Defendroient leur Liberté et leurs Droits tant qu'ils auroient du Sang; Disant cela, il s'étoit tourné du coté d'un asses grand nombre d'Habitans qui nous ecoutoient et comme Je lui dis que tout cela s'accommoderoit; qu'au surplus nous n'etions point Juges entre L'Angleterre et ses colonies, avec du Sang me dit il, on lavera les Taches que le Ministere a faites a la constitution; il faut du Sang et quelques années, et tout sera arrangé, il ne tient qu'a vous autres d'etre libres, Vous touchés au moment si vous voulés en profite.

Je repondis a Mr. Walker, ces gens qui vous ecooutent ainsi que moi n'ont jamais été Esclaves, pas plus que vous; et notre soumission au Roi et a son Gouvernement, nous assure que nous serons toujours libres.

Comment appellés vous Le Roi me dit il, Mon Souverain lui repondis Je, Mon Seigneur et mon Maitre, Il est mon Souverain repondit il mais il n'est pas mon Maitre.

Je le laissai en lui disant Il sera votre Maitre comme le Mien de quelque nom que vous L'Apelliés, mais Je vous prie ne parlons plus sur cette matiere; Mrs. St. George Dupré et Le Pallieur etoient presens et plusieurs autres que Je n'ai pas remarqué.

Il m'a été dit hier que quelques Deputés de Boston etoient venu depuis quelques Jours par la Riviere Kinibeki et avoient apporté des Lettres a Monsieur Macaulay de Quebec et a Mr. Walker de cette Ville; on m'a aussi assuré que Hier Samedi plusieurs Marchands de cette Ville s'etoient assemblés a La Chine avec ces pretendus Deputés.

Montreal le 2. Avril 1775.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Copy of Intelligence received from Montreal 5th April 1775.

In Govr. Carleton's (No. 10) of 6th April 1775.

(Translation)

Copy of Intelligence received the 5th April, 1775.

On the 22nd February last, when I entered the house of Mons. La Taille, Curé of St. Charles on the River Chambly, I found this Gentleman reading a printed Translation of the address from Congress to the Canadians which an Englishman whom I did not Know nor did Mr. La Taille, had given him to read. This Curé after having looked through it very briefly gave it back to him saying that it seemed bad to him and that he had no need of it.

The Englishman whom I had Known for a few days by the name of Woolsey told us that the purpose of this Paper was to deter the Inhabitants from taking up Arms against them fearing that this was the Design of the Government and that it was advisable that these Gentlemen should have a Reply.

I asked him from whom he had received this Pamphlet and he said that Mr. Burk, Récordeur, who had 4 or 5 on his table had given him this one. I believe, without being sure, that the said Woolsey had distributed others similar in the region of la Chenaye, he told me that he desired to obtain one for the Curé of Terrebonne.

On Thursday, 9th March I saw a horseman alight at the house of Ferries, Sutler at the market in this Town whom I guessed had come from the Colonies, he had in Fact: He went away the next day at the same Hour (3 o'clock in the afternoon) taking with him two other horses which he had obtained from Mr. Perineau for a Negro. Ferries told me that this man was sent by a person named Thomas who usually came to buy horses.

The same day 9th March, Mr. Measam an English merchant told me on the market that the man of whom I speak reported that the People of Boston had raised Troops with 30 Pieces of cannon; and that other Colonies had as many as ten thousand men in their pay, all to oppose the Troops of the King and preserve them from the Despotism which the Ministry wished to establish in this Continent. As I made a jest on this Despotism, Mr. Walker, who was not far away, joined him and said to Mr. Measam that I was right, there was no Despotism in France (which the Latter had quoted as an Exemple) but that the People of the Colonies were brave Fellows, who did not wish to be Slaves, and would Defend their Liberty and their Rights while they had Blood. Saying this he turned towards a large number of Habitans who were listening to us and as I said to him that all this would be settled; that moreover we were not Judges between England and her colonies; with Blood, he said to me, they would wash out the Stains the ministry had made upon the constitution; there must be Blood and some years, and all would be settled, he held that you others should be free, you could be so at once if you wished to profit by it.

I replied to Mr. Walker, these people who listen to you as well as myself have never been slaves any more than you; and our submission to the King and his Government assures us that we will always be free.

How do you call The King he said to me. He is my Sovereign I replied, "My Lord and my Master." He is my Sovereign he answered but he is not my Master.

I left him saying He will be your Master as well as Mine by whatever name you call Him but I beg you not to say any more on this matter. Messrs St. George Dupré and Le Pallieur were present and several more whom I did not notice.

I was told yesterday that some Delegates from Boston had come up several Days before by the Kinibeki River and brought Letters to Mr. Macaulay of Quebec and Mr. Walker of this Town; they also assured me yesterday that on Saturday several merchants from this Town had a meeting with these so-called Delegates at Lachine.

Montreal 2 April 1775.

G. C.

Endorsed: Copy of Intelligence received from Montreal 5th April, 1775.

In Govr. Carleton's (No. 10) of 6th April 1775.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 6th April 1775.

I had the Honor of informing your Excellency last Post of the arrival of several People from New England and of one in particular that remained here, the Day before yesterday most of the Merchants as well as most of the English Scotch and Irish of this Town assembled at the Coffee House here, and were harangued by the New Englander; I am told their assembling was to chuse two Deputies to send to the Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of next May—

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 6th April 1775.

^{a.}
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.
(3)

(92)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, p. 167. -

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 7th April 1775.

I take the opportunity of informing your Excellency more particularly in Regard to the New Englander. His name is Brown, is an Attorney by Profession and a member of the Provincial Committee at Cambridge. At the Assembly of the Merchants &c. at the coffee House on Tuesday last, a Letter was produced brought by said Brown and read; it was addressed to Thomas Walker Esqr. Messieurs Todd, Blake Price, Heywood and to all the Friends of Liberty, the purport of the Letter is to represent the Cause of the Americans in the best Light it will bear holding up the late Acts of the British Legislature as oppressive and unconstitutional, the enforcing of them in the mode at present adopted, as tyrannical setting forth to the Committee of Montreal, and the Canadians in general, how essential it will be to the Americans, if this Colony joins in the common cause.

Signed Adams Mackay-Warren.

After the Letter was read and said Brown and Mr. Walker who is a great Republican had harangued a considerable time in support of the Letter; a Motion was made by them for establishing a committee of observation in Montreal for corresponding with the Committee at Cambridge, and to elect two Delegates to attend the general Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of next May, but it did not answer their Purpose, as none present came into their way of thinking and the Assembly broke up without anything being done that was proposed by those opposers of Government, but since that, I have been informed, that Messieurs Walker Blake, Price, Heywood and Measam intend answering the Letter wrote by Adams Mackay and Warren, Mr. Todd having refused having any thing to do with the Letter or it's Contents said Brown is endeavouring to intimidate the Canadians by assuring them, that if a man of them should dare to take up arms and act against the Bostonians, thirty thousand of them will immediately march into Canada and lay waste the whole Country.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 7th Apl. 1775.

—a—
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

(93)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

Series Q. Vol. 11, pp. 169-173.

Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th April 1775.

Mardi 4 Avril Mr. De.....dit en ma presence a Mr. De.....qu'il sortoit a l'instant de chés le Sieur..... on etoient Mr Brassier Prêtre et Procureur du Seminaire, et le Sieur Thomas Walker, que ce dernier avoit dit a cet Ecclesiastique Je ne scai a quel propos que peu à peu Lui et les autres s'apercevroient des Desseins du Ministere, dont le But etoit de les depuiller de leurs Droits et de leurs Biens, que le saul moyen de s'assurer l'un et l'autre, seroit d'envoyer deux Deputés au prochain Congrès, qui les maintiendrait, M. De.....sortit sur ce Propos.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th Apl. 1775.

—a—
(5)

(Translation)

Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th April, 1775.

Tuesday 4th April Mr De.....said in my presence to Mr. De.....that he came at that moment from the house of M.....where were Mr. Brassier, Priest and Proctor of the Seminary, and Mr. Thomas Walker, that the latter had said to this Ecclesiastic I do not Know in what connection, that bit by bit He and others would see through the Designs of the Ministry, whose object was to deprive them of their Rights and Property, that the only means of protecting both would be to send two Delegates to the next Congress who would maintain them. Mr. De.....came away on this Remark.

Endorsed:—Paper of Intelligence from Montreal 10th April. 1775.

a
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 1st May 1775.

I am extremely sorry to have to inform your Excellency that a most daring Insult was done last night to the King's Bust on the *Place D'Armes*. The Face was disfigured, circle or chapelet of Potatoes round the neck and a wooden cross with a Label in these words *Voilà le Pape de Canada ou le Sot Anglois*.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 1st May 1775.

—b—
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May No. 11.
(6)

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 4th May 1775.

I am sorry I am obliged to trouble your Excellency with the Recital of an affair that happened the Day before yesterday. At the Publication of a Reward of fifty Guineas offered by the Officers of the 26th Regiment for apprehending the Person or Persons guilty of the late Insult on His Majesty's Bust, Mr. Bellestre who was then present called out aloud He should be very glad the detestable wretches who could be guilty of so infamous an action were discovered, and that he would with pleasure see them whipt by the Hands of the Hangman and then turned out of the Province that the Punishment would be too lenient, for they deserved to be hanged upon which a young Man by the name of Franks (son of Mr. Franks of Quebec) stept forth, and in a sneering way answered, hanged! what for such a Trifle. Mr. Belletre replied what do you look upon the Transaction as a Trifle; You are a giddy headed insolent Spark, Franks returned him several very injurious Replies which so exasperated Mr. Belletre that he took him by the nose, Franks returned the compliment by a Blow with his fist over the right Eye which deprived the old gentleman of his senses for some time and was the occasion of the Loss of some Blood. An Information was taken at Mr. Belletre's House yesterday and said Franks committed to Gaol, the same afternoon and much about the same time Solomon a Jew Merchant being about the Parade near the King's Bust called out he believed some Canadian Scoundrel was the Author of the Insult on the Bust, Mr. Le Pailleur being present answered he made

no Doubt but it might have been performed by a Jew. Solomon replied what do you say Sir, Mr. Le Pailleur repeated as before; upon which Solomon knocked him down, the consequence was he was apprehended and obliged to give Bail, it gives me great concern things are carried these Lengths as they may be the cause of much mischief, at least of ill Blood if not timely prevented. My Opinion is a few of my Countrymen are the Cause of the whole, as I take the Canadians to be very good subjects and very inoffensive.

G.C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 4 the May 1775.

c.
In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May, No. 11.

Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated the 4th May 1775.

At these Publications some People from words went to Blows—Mr. Bellestre having heard one of these Publications, called out he would be very happy that the Author was found out, and concluded by saying that he even deserved to be hanged, to which a young man of the name of Franks (they say a son of Mr. John Franks of Quebec) replied in the following words, which are the words of Mr. Bellestre on Oath: *a Quoi un Jeune Homme, qu'il a su depuis se nommer Franks, auroit repondu avec aigreur qu'on ne pendoit point pour si peu de chose, et que cela ne valoit point la Peine, ce qu'il auroit publiquement et plusieurs fois reiterer*, upon these and some other words M. Bellestre took the young man by the nose, on which the young man beat him pretty roundly so as not to be fit to come out.

G. C.

Endorsed:—Extract of a Letter from Montreal dated 4th May 1775.

In Governor Carleton's Letter of the 15th May 1775. No. 11.

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